

of Camels. And they won't be able to photograph that inscription from the distance from which Steve (Mr. Early) makes them take their photographs.

There is just one change -- I might as well announce it here -- that we are thinking of making in the Press Conferences at the White House. Early and McIntyre and Michelson, they do not know it yet. I have noticed a good deal lately, at the end of the Press Conference, after the boys are all out of the room, I would turn to Mac and Steve and Charlie and I would say, "Did I do all right?" And they would say, "H'm, yes." And then I would say, "What did you think of my answer?" And one of them would be sure to say, "Yes, but if I had answered it I would have said such and such a thing."

By just about ten minutes of this we would have a much better answer than we do have. So, after this, we are going to have a second Press Conference about half an hour after the first Press Conference, after we have talked it over, Michelson and Early and McIntyre, and I will give you much better answers than you could possibly get offhand. (Laughter)

All that of course was off the record. But now I want to go back because I have been thinking that this was the twenty-fifth year and I want to come back to some of the thoughts that I have had about those early years from 1913 up through the war, thoughts of all the people who have left us. They are thoughts of the early people in Washington, people who helped to train me and, believe me, it was a very stiff course but a very wonderful course under the leadership and under the teaching of some perfectly splendid old friends of ours.

I remember, when I first went to the Navy Department, my

first Press Conference. There was an old man there, for he was an old man, who sort of took me under his wing and I stayed under his wing all those years -- old Mat Tighe. (Applause) Old Mat Tighe, he went around with some volume in the original Greek and he read it if the Press Conference bored him. He was a scholar and a gentleman.

And then there was old Eddie Hood, one of the grandest men that ever lived. (Applause) I think he was for a great many years, nearly a half a century, a faithful member of the staff of the Associated Press, a man who refused offers for appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy -- of course his name was not Roosevelt, that was one drawback -- and Assistant Secretary of State. He remained a newspaper man to the end of his days. He was the confidant and unofficial adviser of a long list of Cabinet Officers and Government officials and their assistants.

And he was followed by one who might be called his successor as the Dean of the correspondents in Washington, Dick Oulahan, (applause) an urbane, able, kindly and above all a gentleman with generous impulses, always generous impulses, by common consent the friend of all the young people who came down here in the Government service and one who was looked up to by all of his associates of the Press.

And I remember very well how mighty nice to me as a youngster, how mighty nice Gus Karger (applause) was. He was able to be faithful alike to his newspaper and to the public in expressing very deep political convictions, but a man who always had the objective side of reporting in view.

And Bill Crawford, (applause) one of the correspondents whom I knew, not only here in Washington but in later days when I had gone

back to New York and after I had gone to Albany as Governor.

Bill Price (applause) was another one who helped. As representative of the Washington Star, he became the first reporter -- so I am told, because it was in a sense before my day -- the first reporter who was regularly assigned to ask White House visitors what the President had said. And this, so I am told, dated back to the days of Cleveland, the days, incidentally, when I was a very small boy in Washington and my family did something to me that I have never forgotten and never forgiven. I was five years old and the family took it into their heads that it would be nice if I wore a suit of Scotch kilts. We had a house on K Street, at about Thirteenth, and the family drove me out on the street to play with the little boys, clad in a Scotch kilt. I got about half a block away and was surrounded by about a dozen of them, all pointing their fingers and saying, "Oh, look at the little girl!"

And then Jack Nevin, (applause) Jack Nevin who told me, he and Mat Tighe, how to hold a Press Conference in the Navy Department. Able, energetic, a giant in stature and a glutton for work.

And then one who has left us very recently, Jim Hornaday, (applause) as kindly as he was able, a writer and a gentleman, whose death three years ago saddened all our hearts, one whom I described at that time as "A gentleman of the Press."

And then Jim Hay, (applause) Jim Hay, who, in many ways, had characteristics and attributes that Louis Howe had, a frail body but a sparkling wit and an indomitable spirit.

And finally, one whom I have known and whom we have all known for a great many years, who has left us very recently, to our loss, Rodney Dutcher. (Applause) I think that all our hearts, the



hearts of those who knew him well, are heavy tonight because he has left us. Those who look for news behind the news, as is the custom these days, know that the circumstances, the attendant circumstances of the passing of this brave soul are not merely poignant, because I think many of us feel those circumstances approach real tragedy. We, who do know, will long cherish the memory of his valiant spirit who was, first and last, a reporter of the day's events as he saw them, fearless in his determination to remain a detached and objective chronicler and, so long as justice and conscience were on his side, he did not fear anything else. There was and there is no braver newspaperman than Rodney Dutcher.

And so you see that this twenty-fifth anniversary has for me a great many personal memories, going back, as I have said, a quarter of a century, and one of those memories that I carry with me always is that there is no group of finer, more deeply sincere, though sometimes cynical on the surface, sensitive group of human beings in the world than the newspapermen of America. And, if there is one place in the world where they might lose that sensitiveness, might lose that inward understanding of their fellowman, that place is Washington, but here, I think, from my experience, they lose it least of all.

And so to you, my fellow members, I want to express again my very deep appreciation in having come here to this annual banquet tonight and the hope that I will be able to be with you again a couple of times anyway, (applause) and that when I go back to the house on the hill that you will receive me in my working clothes if I happen to come down here to -- what shall I say? -- write a column. (Applause, rising applause)



INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At Chickamauga Dam  
Near Chattanooga, Tennessee  
November 21, 1938

I had not intended to make any speech today but I cannot resist the opportunity of thanking you men who are building this dam and, through you, many hundreds and thousands of other men who are doing equally splendid jobs in this Tennessee watershed, to thank you for a contribution that you are making to our American civilization.

I have never seen this particular operation before but I have seen most of the others and I know what you are doing is not merely putting an obstruction across a river just to make a few kilowatts of electricity. We are doing a much bigger job than that. We are not only improving navigation and stopping floods, we are not only making highways across the tops of these structures, we are not only helping to reforest cut-over land and conserving soil but, taking it by and large, we are doing something constructive that will affect the lives of our grandchildren in the United States.

Because of the example that this work is setting, you will cause equal progress not only in the Tennessee Valley but in other parts of the country -- even in parts of the country where there are no rivers to put dams across.

That is why I want you to know that not only your Government is proud of the work that is being done in the Tennessee watershed -- not only the people of Tennessee and the other states in the watershed -- but also people all over the United States are watching your work. That goes down to the common labor, the day labor on this job and ex-

tends all the way up through the different trades and professions to the Commission itself.

I am glad to have been here and glad to have had this opportunity of thanking you on behalf of the Nation.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Also Extemporaneous Remarks of the President  
At the Thanksgiving Dinner at Warm Springs Foundation  
Warm Springs, Georgia  
November 24, 1938

(Following is the prepared address, which was released to the Press and broadcast over the radio:)

We, the several hundred members of the Warm Springs' family, old and young, are gathered here again for our annual Thanksgiving dinner.

But, before we attack the turkey, I want to say a few words, not only to you but to many other people in every part of the country -- on this day of national thanksgiving.

First about Warm Springs itself. The physical picture draws nearer to completion each year. The ramshackle old buildings of twelve years ago have either been completely modernized or replaced by new fireproof structures; and when I got here the other day I was delighted to see the new schoolhouse and the new Medical Center rising above the ground.

I am glad we are to have a schoolhouse because we know that it is of the utmost importance to have the education of the mind keeping pace with the re-education of the muscles.

Then, too, medical science has made such great strides in the past (decade) ten or twelve years that the treatment of the after-effects of infantile paralysis calls for many new forms of hospital care in addition to the water exercises and swimming of the older days.

Today we have the tradition of work well done. We have also the same ideal of continuing progress, backed up by determina-



tion and courage, what we call the spirit of Warm Springs. We are looking forward to the time when we can take care of at least two hundred patients at (all) a time(s) -- or, in other words, treatment for about four hundred patients in (a) any given year.

Several years ago we expanded the work of Warm Springs by helping communities throughout the country to raise money for the care of their own infantile paralysis cases, and, through their generosity, to give financial help to the cause of research into the origin of the disease. Last year we took a further step by establishing the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; and after January 30, 1939, we hope to have permanent Chapters of this National Foundation in all of the more than three thousand counties that make up the United States.

At (this) the time of the Birthday Celebration half of all the funds raised in each county will be retained in trust for the Chapters for local use and the other half of the fund raised will go to the National Foundation for the national fight against infantile paralysis.

This Thanksgiving Day we have much to be thankful for. I wish that all who hear my voice could be with us and see this gathering of old and young in the big dining room at Warm Springs. We are thinking not of ourselves alone but of tens of thousands of other children and grownups and wishing for them that they may be having an equally Happy Thanksgiving -- lots of turkey and lots of fixin's.

I have had many telegrams today -- Thanksgiving telegrams, and there is one that I want to read to you from an old friend who has helped Warm Springs in the past very greatly, Eddie Cantor, the

actor and comedian, and he gives me a thought that I think we all are thinking of:

"May you and yours have a happy Thanksgiving. I am thankful that I can live in a country where our leaders sit down on Thanksgiving Day to carve up a turkey instead of a Nation."

Now we will have the blessing said and after that we will go to it.

(Following is the "Off the Record Address" delivered extemporaneously.)

I am very glad that you are glad that I am here. You are not gladder than I am to be with you members of the Warm Springs family after a lapse of two previous Thanksgivings, when I couldn't be here.

I think these parties get better each year that goes by. I am always thinking about the future -- all of us are. Tonight as I sat here I couldn't help but think -- and I was talking to Bobbie about it (boy seated next to the President) -- regarding our problem. When we get up to two hundred patients here at one time, this dining room, which is only a very few years old, will have to be enlarged. Just think of that! Well, we were wondering just which way we would push it. This way, or that way or that way. Of course, it can't go that way (pointing) because that will interfere with what is going to be in time the loveliest campus of any college in the land, and I like to think of this as sort of a college which we all, old and young, attend.

At the same time, when I come to these Thanksgiving parties I think of the past. I think of the early years at Warm Springs a

long time ago -- fourteen years ago, when I first came -- fourteen years to me seems a very short time, but think of the people in this room who were not born fourteen years ago.

When I came down this year I learned of the death of two very old friends of mine, Mr. Persons and Mr. Colbert. A great many of you didn't even know them, and yet I remember a September of 1924, when I turned up here and occupied the only cottage, with one exception, that was open -- the hotel was closed. Everything was closed and most everything was falling to pieces. Most of the roofs leaked and when you went to bed at night it sounded like thunder, because the squirrels were rolling nuts overhead. And in those days it was pretty hard foraging for food. We didn't have any wonderful store -- series of stores to go to as you have now. It was hard to get wood and food, and sometimes you had to travel ten miles to get a chicken for supper.

There were two people who were neighbors of ours, Mr. Persons and Mr. Colbert, and almost every evening someone would knock on the door and then their heads would come around the door and say: "Do you need some kindling-wood? Can I get you some eggs tomorrow?"

They were that kind of neighbors and we are going to miss them a good deal.

You know this place would not have been possible if it had not been for that kind of reception and hospitality that I got. And I was all alone down here. Some of our neighbors had lived down here around Warm Springs all their lives. They were the kind of people who extended the kind of hospitality that made me want to



come back, and that is why the following spring I came back, and the influx of people began to arrive.

That is when Fred Botts was carried off the train -- yes, he was a man in those days! And we thought he was going to look like a skeleton, or die of tuberculosis before night. We didn't have any doctor down here and I acted as doctor. I didn't know what to do and so I fed him cream. It put flesh on him. We got him in the pool and he was scared to death, and in about a week he began to walk in the pool, and that is one of the things we discovered, and that is that people can walk in water when they cannot walk along on land. And that, you all know, has been increasing year by year.

The following year two more people came down. You have all heard, and most of you have known, our dear Dr. Hubbard, who left us this year. He and Miss Mahoney -- and I saw Miss Mahoney this past summer when I was out in Los Angeles, and she wanted me to give her affectionate regards to the Warm Springs family.

And then today I have had all these telegrams, one especially which I want to read to you, because it is from the president of this new National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Basil O'Connor:

"Sorry unable to be with you. Give my regards to the Executives and the employees and all the patients of the Foundation, and keep a lot for yourself."

And so I am not going to make any more speech. All I can tell you is that I hope to be back again at the end of March or beginning of April, 1939, and most assuredly, unless something unforeseen turns up, I will be back with you a year from now.

It has been a wonderful evening, and each year I think these parties get better and better, and now, carrying out a custom of, I think, twelve years, I am going over to the door and I hope you will all come by and shake me by the hand.

IMPROMPTU, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered at the Harvest Festival  
Pine Mountain Valley, Georgia  
November 25, 1938

(This was not released to the Press.)

Every time I come here I find something new to make me proud of Pine Mountain Valley. I have been hearing figures in the last fifteen minutes that make me think this is a pretty good farming section; the number of eggs that are produced, the number of cattle that you have got, the number of gallons of milk that are coming from them each day and, incidentally, the general look of the land.

I am particularly happy to know one thing about Pine Mountain Valley and the surrounding country, and that is the cooperation between this community and the people who live outside of it in Harris County. And may I thank the Commissioners, the officials and the people of Harris County, and even outside the county line, for cooperating so splendidly with the people of this particular community. It is a fine example to every other part of the United States.

And, incidentally, I hope you people realize that what you are doing here is not merely for yourselves, but because of your example there are lots and lots of people all over the country who are profiting by the example that you have set.

And so I am glad to have been here. I am especially glad to have this particularly fine day. I thought yesterday that we were going to be rained out.

So I hope to come back again in the spring, and come again to see a community that I am very, very proud of.



ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At the University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill, N.C.  
Monday, December 5, 1936, 4.30 P.M.

GOVERNOR HOOK, PRESIDENT GRAHAM, MINE HOSTS OF THE CAROLINA POLITICAL UNION, MY NEW FOUND ALLIANCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA: (Applause)

From the bottom of my heart I am grateful to all of you today, very happy to be a part of this great University. (Applause)

A very old friend of mine, the late Mr. Justice Cardozo of the Supreme Court of the United States (wrote a few years ago) said this the other day:

"We live in a world of change. If a body of law were in existence adequate for the civilization of today, it could not meet the demands of tomorrow. Society is inconstant. So long as it is inconstant ... there can be no constancy in law ..... Law defines a relation not always between fixed points, but often between points of varying position ..... There is change whether we will it or not."

And it is recognition of (this) that philosophy that has made the University of North Carolina representative of liberal teaching and liberal thought. And it is my recognition of your recognition of that philosophy that brings me so willingly to Chapel Hill today. (Applause)

It is a far cry from the days of my first visit to the University, nearly a quarter of a century ago, and the splendid new buildings that I saw in the last five minutes of my drive prove it. I came here then because my old Chief -- that (great) consistent North Carolina liberal, Josephus Daniels (applause) -- told me that I should see for myself a great institution of learning (which) that was thinking and acting in terms of today and tomorrow and not merely in the tradition of yesterday.

In those days, 1913 and 1914, the leadership of the Nation was in the hands of a great President who was seeking to recover for our social system ground (which) that had been lost under his conservative predecessor, and to restore something of the fighting liberal spirit which the Nation had gained under Theodore Roosevelt. It seemed one of our great national tragedies that just when Woodrow Wilson was beginning to accomplish definite improvements in the living standards of America, the World War not only interrupted his course, but laid the foundation for twelve years of retrogression. I say this advisedly because it is not progress, but the reverse, when a nation goes through the madness of the twenties, piling up paper profits, hatching all manner of speculations and coming inevitably to the day when the bubble bursts.

It is only the unthinking liberals (in) of this world who see nothing but tragedy in the slowing up or temporary stopping of liberal progress.

It is only the unthinking conservatives who rejoice down in their hearts when a social or economic reform fails to be 100% successful.

It is only -- what shall I call them? -- the possessors of "headline" mentality that exaggerate(s) or distort(s) the true objectives of those in this Nation whether they be the president of the University of North Carolina or the President of the United States, who, with Mr. Justice Cardozo, admit the fact of change and seek to guide, (change into the) seek to guide into right channels that change to the greater glory of God and the greater good of mankind.

You undergraduates, and possibly some of you who are graduates, who see me for the first time have read your newspapers and heard on the air that I (am) was, at the very least, an ogre (laughter)-- a consorter with Communists, a destroyer of the rich, a breaker of our ancient traditions. (Laughter - applause) Some of you may think of me perhaps as the original inventor of the economic royalist, (laughter) of the wicked utilities, of the money changers (of) in the Temple. You have heard for six years that I was about to plunge the Nation into war; that you and your little brothers would be sent to the bloody fields of battle in Europe; that I was driving the Nation into bankruptcy, and that I breakfasted every morning on a dish of "grilled millionaire." (Laughter - applause)

Actually I am an exceedingly mild mannered person -- a practitioner of peace, both domestic and foreign, (laughter) a believer in the capitalistic system, and for my breakfast a devotee of scrambled eggs. (Laughter)

You have read that as a result of the balloting last November, the liberal forces in the United States are on their way to the cemetery -- yet I ask you to remember that liberal forces in the United States have often been killed and buried -- with the inevitable result that in short order they have come to life again with more strength than they had before. (Applause)

It is also true that other men in public life have protested in the past against certain forms of economic control and that epithets far stronger than any I have ever used have been employed even by Presidents of the United States. Those of us who knew Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland could hardly call any of them



mollycoddles.

I was reading a letter of Theodore Roosevelt the other day, written to a friend in the spring of 1908, and it will, I think, interest and amuse you if I quote from it. He was writing to a man who was fighting (for) in the cause of social and political decency out on the Pacific Coast. And here is what he said:

"Now and then you must feel downhearted when you see men guilty of the most atrocious crimes who, (from) for some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment, and especially when you see .... men of wealth, of high business, and in a sense of high social standing, banded together against you. My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight. There is no form of slander and wicked falsehood in which the New York papers, not only those representing the lowest type of demagoguery, but those representing the interests that call themselves preeminently conservative, preeminently cultured, have not indulged in as regards myself. From all that I can gather the feeling against me, not only in Wall Street, not only in the business houses of the greatest financiers of New York, but also in most of the uptown clubs .... it is just in these places that the feeling against me has been most bitter. As a matter of fact, I do not care a snap of my fingers about it. (Applause) I do not care whether they think well of me or think ill of me. But I do care a very great deal to do this work without flinching, on the one hand, and on the other (hand) without becoming angered and irritated to a degree that will in any way cause me to lose my head.

"Now, so it is with you and your associates. You must keep reasonably goodnatured; but above all things you must not lose heart; and you must battle on valiantly, no matter what the biggest business men may say, no matter what the mob may say, no matter what may be said by that element which chooses to regard itself as socially the highest element. You are in a fight for plain decency, for the plain democracy of the plain people who believe in honesty and in fair dealing between man and man. Do not get disheartened; and keep up the fight."

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt, born of an old New York family,

Southern on his mother's side, trained as a young man on our Western frontiers, was perhaps the first American President in modern times who knew the whole Nation. In the letter which I have read, and with this national background, it seems to me what he said in effect was, first, that the American people have, and must have, a definite objective for the improvement of government, for the improvement of social and economic conditions; (second) secondly, that these objectives must be carried out by definite action, and, third, that in the attaining of them, the President and the Government and the people as a whole must have (two) essential qualities -- (first) a sense of proportion, (and) a sense of perspective, (and, second,) good will and, last but not least, a sense of humor.

Almost every crisis (of our) in the history of our Nation since 1789 has become a crisis because of a lack on the part of leaders or on the part of the people themselves, or both, a lack of some of these essentials.

The very birth of the Democratic Party, at a time when President Washington publicly expressed the hope that the Nation could be run without Parties, was due to the simple fact that the Government itself was dominated by the great commercial and shipping interests of the seaboard, (and) that it failed to give recognition to the needs (and) to the desires of the masses of the inhabitants of the original Thirteen States who did not subscribe to (the) their theory that birth, wealth or political position could give to the possessors of these qualifications the sole right to govern. Hence the Democratic Party. (Applause)

And a generation later a Government dominated by the other

extreme -- the plainer people from the back country, from the Piedmont and the slopes of the Alleghenies, the Upper Hudson, the backwoods of New England, paying scant attention to the ship owners of the seaboard, drove our Nation into the second war against Great Britain. And here in the South it is worth remembering that the first suggestion of secession from the Union was proposed by the delegates from the New England States in the Hartford Convention (in) of 1814.

In both cases tolerance and the national point of view were absent. Another generation went by and it was the same lack of tolerance, the same lack of a national point of view which brought about a war which was not inevitable -- the War Between the States.

The scene changed and the Nation was confronted not by a sectional difference but by a struggle for economic and social control -- a period which saw the control of our National Government by groups of individuals, individuals who, owning their Government, through owning vast financial power, used the plea of development of our national resources that they might feather their own nests.

In the lifetime of people who are still with us, there were men whom we must admit had courage and vision, who pushed railroads across the plains, opened mines, dammed rivers, created vast aggregations of capital; and left in their wake vast aggregations of national and state and local political power.

In a sense those were glorious days because the wide-open spaces were open to those native Americans and those who were flocking hither from the centers of Europe to find work in new fields.

A current author has recently emphasized (emphasizes) the



perfection of life that surrounded our population half a century ago. He draws a picture of the complete lack of any restraints on any individual and infers that every American of (those days) half a century ago, no matter what part of the country he or she lived in, lived in a Utopia of work and play to which we should seek an immediate return.

I do not believe it. (Applause)

A few days ago in Georgia I talked with an old friend whom I have known for ten years. He was what might be called an old-fashioned Southern conservative. We got to "reminiscing" about the old days when I first lived in Georgia. And he reminded me of the days when cotton was selling at five cents a pound, and, while he admitted that the ramifications of our Federal legislation, and especially of Court decisions during the past six years were somewhat beyond him, nevertheless he allowed that some principle of crop control -- cotton and tobacco, for example -- decided on by a majority of the farmers themselves, was the most democratic way to prevent the return of five-cent cotton in a few years.

He reminded me of two little banks in Warm Springs, Georgia -- banks in which many thousand of dollars of local savings had been deposited -- of the failure of both of these banks and the loss of the savings -- and of the fact today that deposits in the banks of the United States are safe, and, he remarked, "I hope that that type of liberal legislation will not be repealed." (Applause)

He reminded me of the white men and negroes who never saw, as the heads of families, \$100. in cash (the whole year round) from the beginning of the year to the end of the year. He reminded me of

the days in 1932 when the States of the Union were going broke, (and) losing their credit because the whole burden of the relief of the starving was placed on their shoulders without the contribution of one dollar from the Federal Government. He reminded me of the complete lack of any social security program -- of the days when a home-builder was charged fifteen and twenty per cent to borrow the money to build his house -- of the days when alum clearance was a beautiful ideal on paper and nowhere else.

And when he left me, he said -- "Young man, I don't know the United States the way you do but I know this section of the Nation pretty well. I don't understand the (actual) working out of all these new-fangled things that the Government has been starting in (these past) the last six years. (But I know this section of the country and) I want to tell you that there is a new spirit abroad in the land. I am not talking just about the fact that there is more buying power, that houses are painted that were never painted before, that our banks are safe, that our roads and schools are infinitely better. What I am talking about is that all of our young people in my section of the country and in every other section -- our young people think that (we) they are "going places." (Applause)

Yes, those two words "going places" seem to be an essential in modern civilization everywhere.

They represent the conviction on the part of the young people of America that life never remains static; that there are better days ahead than ever before; that an opportunity to find a way of life, to earn a living, to raise a family in comfort and security are better today and will be better tomorrow. (Applause) There may

be those in the world who believe that a (regimentated) regimented people, whose every thought and action is directed by one man or two men, may give some people a type of security which is pleasing to them. But whatever convictions I have, none is stronger than my abiding belief that the security and well-being of the American people can best be served by the democratic processes (which) that have made this country strong and great. (Applause)

The future, however, rests not on chance alone, not on mere conservatism, mere smugness, mere fatalism, but on the affirmative action which we take in America. What America does or fails to do in the next few years has a far greater bearing and influence on the history of the whole human race for centuries to come than most of us who are here today can ever conceive.

We are not only the largest and most powerful democracy in the whole world, but many other democracies look to us for world leadership in order that world democracy may survive.

I am speaking not of the external policies of the United States Government. They are exerted, as you know, on the side of peace and they are exerted more strongly than ever before toward the self-preservation of democracies through the assurance of peace.

What I would emphasize is the maintenance of successful democracy at home. Necessarily democratic methods within a nation's life entail change -- the kind of change through local processes within our own national borders, processes described by Mr. Justice Cardozo -- the kind of change to meet new social and economic needs through recognized processes of Government.

Because we live in an era of acceleration, we can no longer



trust to the evolution of future decades to meet these new problems. They rise before us today and they must be met today.

That is why the younger generation means so much in our current affairs. They are a part of the picture in their twenties without having to wait until they (have passed) pass middle age.

That is why I myself associate myself so happily and so greatly with the younger generation.

And that is why I am happy and proud to become an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, typifying as it does American liberal thought through American action. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
State House, Columbia, South Carolina  
December 5, 1938, 10.15 P.M.

(These remarks were not released to the Press.)

GOVERNOR JOHNSTON, MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS:

I am very glad to come here for many reasons: First, because it fulfills an old pledge which I made to Governor Johnston more than two years ago that I would have breakfast with him in Columbia before he left office. And what a breakfast it was; a most delicious meal but I know that if I consumed three meals a day like it in this hospitable State I would no longer be able to get around the country.

You know, I was saying a few minutes ago in the car that I had a very old association with the State of South Carolina, one that goes back even before it was a state, for my great, great grandfather, James Murray, was a Royal Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of South Carolina. Many of my great, great grandparents -- all of the others -- fought on the side or worked on the side of the revolutionists in 1776 and it was only old James Murray that remained true to the Crown and became what was known in those days as a Loyalist and, when the Revolution started, he went to Canada and lies buried there today. He was the only one of all my ancestors who did not side with the Colonists and who was not buried on American soil.

So you see that my connection with this State goes back very, very far.

In my own lifetime I have had many opportunities to visit South Carolina. In the old days, when I was in the Navy Department, a famous son of your State, Senator Tillman, insisted to me that the

Navy Yard in Charleston should be reopened, it having been virtually closed by the predecessor of President Wilson. I took part in the reopening of that Navy Yard and today the Federal Government knows well that the State of South Carolina is part of the Union.

I am glad to have been here and very grateful to all of you for the wonderful hospitality that you have shown to me -- very grateful especially to the children of the Methodist Orphanage who sent that sausage up to Olin Johnston's house.



INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
To the City and State Directors of Public Welfare  
Executive Offices of the White House  
Friday, December 9, 1938, at 12.00 o'clock noon

(These remarks not released to the Press.)

It is good to see you all. I am not going to make a speech.

We are all working along the same lines and I think we are getting our message across to the American people so that they can really understand the fundamentals. Also, as the work goes on, I believe that the work is getting more practical and the machinery is being improved. That is one thing we have to bear in mind, that in our relationship with the public, we have to overcome a certain type of opposition that results from the fact that in some places we do not have very good management. In order to succeed we have to prove to the public that we are improving our method of management. That is one of the important things we have got to get across today. We have got to make the country believe that as we go on we learn an awful lot. When you come down to it, in all of this work we are still in kindergarten as compared to what will be the practice twenty years from now; we are just scratching the surface. We have to make the public understand that we are improving. That is one of the things we always have to remember and we also should remember that in order to achieve our general objectives we have to hang together or we will hang separately.

I wish I could come to your meetings. I know I need a lot of education myself and I am getting it as I go along about every ten minutes through the day.

It is a grand thing and good to see you all.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At the Ceremony of Groundbreaking  
for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial  
Washington, D. C.  
December 15, 1938, 2.30 o'clock, P.M.

MR. GIBBONEY, MEMBERS OF THE THOMAS JEFFERSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION:

Nearly a hundred years ago, the Congress of the United States, in response to a general public demand, undertook to provide a memorial in the (National) Nation's Capital to the first President of the United States, George Washington. There followed many years of controversy both as to the type of memorial and as to its location. The Washington Monument emerged as the result of Congressional action.

Half a century ago, again in response to public demand, the Congress began the consideration of a monument to the memory of Abraham Lincoln -- the preserver of the Union. Years went by and a distinguished committee, following the broad objectives of the original plan for the development of the National Capital, recommended the creation of two broad axes in the general form of a cross -- one axis from the Capitol through the Mall past the Washington Monument to the river bank, and the other axis from the White House past the Washington Monument (ground) to another point near the river.

In line with this well considered plan, the Congress erected the Lincoln Memorial at the end of the longer axis and it was then the clear intention both of the Congress and of the many planning committees and commissions who studied the subject to complete the other axis from the White House to the river by the erection of a public monument at the fourth corner of the cross.

For far more than fifty years, Thomas Jefferson, the third

President of the United States, has been recognized by our citizens not only for the outstanding part which he took in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence itself, not only for his authorship of the Virginia statute for religious freedom, but also for the services he rendered in establishing the practical operation of the American Government as a democracy and not as an autocracy.

For very many years, it has seemed appropriate that with Washington and Lincoln, his services should be held in memory by the erection of a monument of equal dignity. We are breaking ground, today, for such a memorial. The Congress of the United States, through a distinguished Commission, has, after long consideration, chosen this site and made the first appropriations for the erection of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial.

In the days to come, the millions of American citizens who each year visit the National Capital will have a sense of gratitude that at last, at long last, an adequate permanent National Memorial to Thomas Jefferson has been placed at this beautiful spot because as the Joint Resolution of the Congress says: "The American people feel a deep debt of gratitude to Thomas Jefferson" and "honor the services rendered by him."

And now I am about to present a spade to Mr. Gibboney and ask him, in my behalf, to turn the first piece of earth.



HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

FOR THE PRESS

December 24, 1938

CAUTION: The President's Christmas greeting must be held for release.

Release is automatic for five ten o'clock  
(5:10) P.M., E.S.T., today.

NOTE: Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT  
CHRISTMAS TREE  
LAFAYETTE PARK  
DECEMBER 24, 1938

Tonight is Christmas Eve. We are gathered again around our Community Tree here in Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House. Darkness has fallen over the Capital but all about us shine a myriad of brilliant lights. All our hearts, warmed by the eternal fire of Christmas rejoice, because new life, new hope, new happiness are in them.

In this setting I wish my fellow countrymen everywhere a Merry Christmas with peace, content and friendly cheer to all. I wish also to thank the thousands who have remembered me and my family this Christmas with individual greetings. We shall always treasure these friendly messages.

At this time let us hope that the boon of peace which we in this country and in the whole Western Hemisphere enjoy under the Providence of God may likewise be vouchsafed to all nations and all peoples. We desire peace. We shall work for peace. We covet neither the lands nor the possessions of any other nation or people.

We of the Western World who have borne witness by works as well as words to our devotion to the cause of peace, ought to take heart tonight from the atmosphere of hope and promise in which representatives of twenty-one free republics are now assembled in the Pan American Conference at Lima, Peru. I consider it a happy circumstance that these deliberations will be successfully concluded soon after the birthday of the Prince of Peace. It is indeed a holy season in which to work for good will among men. We derive new strength, new courage for our work from the spirit of Christmas.

We do not expect a new Heaven and a new Earth overnight, but in our own land, and other lands - wherever men of good will listen to our appeal - we shall work as best we can with the instruments at hand to banish hatred, greed and covetousness from the heart of mankind.

And so the pledge I have so often given to my own countrymen I renew before all the world on this glad Christmas Eve, that I shall do whatever lies within my own power to hasten the day foretold by Isaiah, when men "shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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FOR THE PRESS

January 30, 1939

CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

1226-A

CAUTION: This address ~~on~~ the President to be delivered on the occasion of his birthday anniversary is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 11:37 P. M., E.S.T.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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I like to think that the celebrations being held from one end of the country to the other tonight are an indication of the national determination to wage unending warfare against a national peril.

We are all engaged in a campaign which, because of special circumstances, requires that our effort shall be nationwide, unified and continuous. Infantile paralysis is an enemy which neither slumbers nor sleeps. It lurks in hidden places and strikes without warning whether the victim be child, or youth, or man or woman of mature years.

I emphasize the importance of a nationwide, continuous campaign because experience tells us that epidemic diseases can be stamped out only through carefully directed work on a nationwide scale. We need, therefore, the cooperation of every state and county, every city and town, every hamlet and crossroads community in this work. Only by such cooperation has tuberculosis been brought under control in our lifetime. Only by the same concerted action will the scourge of infantile paralysis be stamped out.

I should like to say just a word about the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Not yet two years old it is a mature and efficient organization working industriously to perform its functions with but one objective -- the banishment of infantile paralysis. Last year the National Foundation received all of the net proceeds of the birthday parties for its national work.

This year fifty per cent of the net proceeds of tonight's parties will go to the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. But the remaining fifty per cent will be spent in the communities where the money is being raised. The funds will be administered through county chapters of the National Foundation. These chapters will be composed of those chairmen who have worked so hard to make this year's drive the success we all anticipate, and those other members of the communities whose association with medicine, public health activities and other agencies, give them special equipment to supervise infantile paralysis relief work in local communities.

While the county chapters extend local assistance to victims, especially those who are without funds, the National Foundation must carry on with equal persistence the work of tracking the germ of the disease to its source.

We believe that this basis of the division of funds will also afford a well balanced division of activity between the central organization and the far-flung county communities. Thus while the central organization directs the broad work of research and care and treatment, local relief will be carried out through county chapters in accord with the American principle of local self-determination.

In thanking all who have made possible the widespread celebrations being held tonight -- I am informed that some twenty-five thousand events are being carried out -- may I, in passing, speak of one phase of this campaign which touches me personally. I refer to the fact that these celebrations to raise funds are being held on my birthday. I consider



that as only an incident and not a very important incident at that.

By this I do not mean that I am insensible of the honor which the selection of my birthday for this effort implies. I am deeply appreciative of that honor and feel in my heart a joy greater than I can express that in this year, as in previous years beginning with 1934, my birthday should be chosen as a pivotal date around which this splendid campaign should move.

The point I wish to make is that the really important thing is the work itself. For that noble work one day is as good as another. The ideal we strive for is to work every day in the task which is ours to achieve.

Again, as in previous years, I must take this means of thanking the vast army who have worked for the success of this campaign. Their very number, greater than ever will be known, precludes individual acknowledgment. My thanks go to all who have made contributions, either directly or indirectly, whether through patronage of the parties, in contributing to the March of Dimes, or aiding this great work by other means. And I desire, also, to express my heartfelt appreciation to the thousands and thousands of friends who have sent birthday greetings.

With my thanks to all of my countrymen goes from the depths of my soul a prayer that God will bless the work and the workers. The good cause must go on.

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

FOR THE PRESS

February 8, 1939

CAUTION: This address of the President, broadcast in commemoration of the twenty-ninth anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America MUST BE HELD in confidence until released.

NOTE: Release to all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 10:00 o'clock P.M., E.S.T. today.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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FELLOW SCOUTS:

On this, our twenty-ninth birthday, we can look backward with pride and forward with hope and courage. We rejoice that our organization has reached full maturity.

Because the nation never had greater need of the Boy Scouts than it has today, I find peculiar satisfaction in Mr. Head's reassuring report on our progress during the past year. I am glad that our membership is greater than ever before, not from any mere pride in numbers, but because there is so much work to be done we need all the workers we can muster.

To all who have had a part in bringing the Scouts to their present splendid standing I offer hearty congratulations. These boys, so full of promise for the future, are a national asset and therefore should be regarded as a national trust. Ours is the duty to inculcate in the Scout mind those simple but fundamental principles which embrace strength of body, alertness of mind and above these and growing out of them that sense of moral responsibility upon which all sound character rests.

In building up solid character we are insuring the future strength and stability of the nation. Sooner than many of us realize the Boy Scouts of today will be full-fledged citizens to discharge for better or worse the civic duties upon which the happiness of the nation will rest.

As one who has long been active in Scout work and who feels a special responsibility as Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of America, I like to think that faithful observance of the Scout Oath constitutes an excellent preliminary training in the duties of citizenship. I like to think of the entire Scout training as an apprenticeship for the mastery of civic duties.

I have always been a believer in the discipline and training afforded by camp life. Life in the open constitutes an ideal recreation while at the same time it encourages initiative, resourcefulness and self-confidence. On this account I am heartened by Mr. Head's announcement of the gift of a fine site for advanced camping in the Rocky Mountains. Camp life is an American tradition. It is a way of life. A generation trained in the art of camping will receive experience which I believe will give them exceptional equipment with which to cope with some of the most vexatious problems of life in the years that lie ahead.

And now my fellow Scouts I trust that the year ahead will be one full of achievement and useful service for all of you. I appeal to all of you to be faithful now and always to the Scout Oath and the Senior Scout Citizenship Pledge in which Dr. West is about to lead you.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Opening the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco  
Delivered at Key West, Florida,  
February 18, 1939, 3.32 P. M., E. S. T.

COMMISSIONER CREEL, PRESIDENT CUTLER, FRIENDS OF THE  
GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION:

It is a far cry from the comparatively little city of Key West to the Golden Gate. In a few minutes I shall be on board the U. S. S. Houston, on my way out to sea to take part in the Fleet maneuvers.

Although I have commissioned Mr. Roper to act and speak for me in the ceremonies that mark the opening of the Golden Gate International Exposition, I cannot forego this further and more personal expression of my deep interest. From what I saw with my own eyes last July, I can well imagine the beauty of the completed undertaking, and I look forward with real eagerness to the visit this coming summer that I have promised myself.

Were the West and things Western less close to my heart, I would still be constrained to wish the Exposition a success even beyond the hopes of its builders, for the federal government is in close partnership with this national enterprise.

One government agency has helped financially to build the Bay Bridge and the Golden Gate Bridge -- both of them engineering marvels of the century; another agency has helped with men and funds to raise this new island from the

ocean bed; and still another has assisted in the construction of the hangars and other buildings that will remain when the Exposition ends, and the site reverts to its intended purpose -- a great permanent airport immeasurably helpful to the commerce of the Pacific Coast, and a vital and integral part of our national defense.

Treasure Island, with an area of more than four hundred acres, is America's newest insular possession. It is an outstanding example of territorial (extension) expansion without aggression.

I am quite open and unashamed in my liking for expositions. They perform a distinct service in acquainting people with our progress in many directions and with what other people are doing. They stimulate the travel that results inevitably in a larger degree of national unity by making Americans know their America and their fellow Americans.

I have never thought it unfortunate that New York and San Francisco picked the same year for their World Fairs. Instead of one incentive, people have two, and it is my sincere hope that 1939 will witness a swing around the whole American circle -- that will give some realization of our resources and our blessings, and more important, emphasize the essential unity of American interests. Getting acquainted with the United States is about as good a habit as I know.

Furthermore, the San Francisco and New York Worlds Fairs



do not in any way duplicate each other. Their themes and their exhibits cover different fields -- make different appeals. Most decidedly, if you have seen one, you have not, in effect, see the other also.

The eleven western states who are partners in this Exposition constitute a great area which is of incalculable importance to the prosperity of the United States. The vigor and boldness of these states -- a direct inheritance from pathfinding forbears -- is equally helpful in the social pioneering that has been commanded by today's necessities.

Many times, in the elaboration of what I call the Good Neighbor policy, I have stressed the point that the maintenance of peace in the Western hemisphere must be the first concern of all Americans -- North Americans, Central and South Americans (and Central Americans) -- for nothing is more true than that we here in the New World carry the hopes of millions of human beings in other less fortunate lands. By setting an example of international solidarity, cooperation, mutual trust and (mutual) joint helpfulness, we may keep faith alive in the heart of anxious and troubled humanity, and at the same time, lift democracy high above the ugly truculence of autocracy.

And so, when I wish the Golden Gate International Exposition all possible success, it is as an instrument of international good will as well as an expression of the material and cultural progress of our own West and of our Pacific ocean neighbors.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
To the Pan American Hernando De Soto Exposition at Tampa  
Delivered from Key West, Florida  
February 18, 1939, 3.45 P. M., E. S. T.

PRESIDENT BROOKIN, COMMISSIONER DYE AND MY FRIENDS  
OF THE PAN AMERICAN HERNANDO DE SOTO EXPOSITION:

I like the very name of this Exposition. I am glad that you decided to link the name of the intrepid explorer, who reached these shores 400 years ago, with the Pan American idea. There was nothing narrow or restricted in the perspective of De Soto or of his fellow townsman, Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean. They and their contemporaries drew their ideas from a vision of a New World. The domains they claimed for their Sovereign were heroic in geographic extent. Their imagination was fitted to the dawn of a new era. And so today we commemorate (Hernando) De Soto as one of the first Pan Americans.

The spirit of Pan Americanism happily is coming more and more to dominate the thoughts and aspirations and the actions of all of the diverse peoples and cultures which comprise the three Americas. It is the certain and unfailing safeguard of our inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Although the peoples of the New World are of many origins, they are united in a common aspiration to defend and maintain the self-governing way of life. That way of life is instinctive in all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

To show our faith in democracy, we have made the policy of the good neighbor the corner stone of our foreign relations. No other policy would be consistent with our ideas and our ideals. In the fulfilment of this policy we purpose to heed the ancient Scriptural admonition not to move our neighbor's landmarks, not to encroach on his notes and bounds.

We desire by every legitimate means to promote freedom in trade and travel and in the exchange of cultural ideas among nations. We seek no territorial expansion, we are not covetous of our neighbor's goods; we shall cooperate in every proposal honestly put forward to limit armaments; we abhor the appeal to physical force except to repulse aggression; but we say to all the world that in the Western Hemisphere -- in the three Americas -- the institutions of democracy -- government with the consent of the governed -- must and shall be maintained.

And so this Exposition in Tampa is another link in the forging of that chain of brotherhood.



INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA (At the town square)  
March 30, 1939.

(The President was introduced by Rep. Henry Steagall)

The Congressman reminds me of a gentleman in my own congressional district, way up on the Hudson River. He had been running for Congress every two years for about twenty years and never could get elected. We always wondered -- of course it was a Republican district -- what he had in mind. There wasn't a chance for any Democrat to get elected.

In all those years that he was running for Congress in a hopeless district, he spent his entire campaign going to schoolhouses. He would stop at the little country schoolhouses and he would go in and he would say, "You know, I am running for Congress; I am not going to get elected but I did want to see you children."

Finally, in 1910, he was nominated for the sixth time. I started to campaign with him and when he got out of town and stopped at a little schoolhouse, I said to him, "Dick, why do you waste all this time going into schoolhouses?"

He said, "Well, I figure pretty soon there will be enough children who have grown up and will be able to vote who have known me personally over all these years. They will vote for me and send me to Congress."

That is the way he got there, the first and only Democratic Congressman from my district since 1856. That is why I am trying to educate some young man up there, some good Democrat, to start in on the children and go on every two years until he gets to know every boy and girl in the three counties and eventually, perhaps after I am dead, he will get elected and be the second Democrat since 1856.

Congressman Steagall has told me a lot about his district but I notice that he tells me more about the schools and the young people in his district than any other subject. I think he is like old Dick Connell; I think he figures he will be congressman from this district just as long as he lives and that is why he is cultivating you boys and girls. Well, it is a pretty good habit, a pretty good idea on his part.

You boys and girls, after all, have a certain amount of responsibility -- not just sending Henry Steagall back to Congress -- you have an even greater responsibility because in a very few years we old people are going to turn over the government of the Nation and the government of Alabama to you kids. I am terribly old; I am fifty-seven, think of that, and when I was your age I used to think that anybody that was fifty-seven had at least one foot in the grave. But I believe that you who are going to be the voters, the American citizens of tomorrow, are going to be better citizens than we people who are running things today. That is why I am confident and hopeful of the future of America -- because of the children of America, the young people of America.

You have a big responsibility to live up to, but I know you will live up to it with a smile, live up to it with hard work. There is no doubt if you do that the United States is going to be a better place to live in in the days to come.

Many thanks.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE  
March 30, 1939

Governor Dixon, Dr. Patterson and you, the students of Tuskegee:

Some of my more conservative friends in the north accuse me of being very persistent when I once make up my mind that a thing ought to be done for the good of humanity. They say that it is because I am part Scotch and part Dutch. I am afraid they are right. I try to be persistent and consistent.

I am fulfilling today a piece of persistency that began nearly thirty years ago when I had my first talk with Booker Washington. He asked me at that time to come to Tuskegee and see what he was doing and what his boys and girls were doing. I could not go then and I kept putting it off and then, for a good many years, Dr. Moton kept coming to see me, saying, "Why don't you come to visit us in Tuskegee?" I kept on saying, "Yes, I am going to come." And then Dr. Patterson in these later years has been saying, "Come and see us."

Well, I am persistent and consistent and here I am. I am proud to come to Tuskegee because I am proud of what Tuskegee has done. I wish that every American could come to Tuskegee and see what has been done. I do not know whether in any individual institution the members of that institution, the faculty and the students, realize how much they are being watched by the outside world. The things that they do in their institution count but, more than that, the things that their graduates do are things that count very greatly not only among the body of graduates, not only among their immediate neighbors but also throughout their state and throughout their nation.

Your Congressman was telling me as we drove in here about a predecessor of his who had said that no graduate of Tuskegee had ever gone either to a penitentiary or to Congress.

As a matter of fact, I notice, because I travel around the country a good deal, I notice the graduates of Tuskegee more than some of you who are right here. I hear about a man or a woman, not only in the lower south but in the middle of the country and in the north, somebody who is making good, somebody who is having an influence over human service in his community. And then I hear that he or she is a graduate of Tuskegee and that is what counts.

I did not come here to make a formal address to you. This is a homely gathering. Tuskegee is a homey place. We think, necessarily and rightly, in terms of the American home. You are doing much, through your great body of graduates to improve and bring up to higher standards the American home. That home today is not the old home of half a century ago. Because of necessity and modern invention it must extend its interest, its contacts with a great many other homes in its own community and with other people in neighboring communities just in the same way that no state can become entirely self-contained or be as self-contained as it was 20 or 30 years ago.

More and more we are becoming a part of a nation which, because of changing conditions, means that we have to take part, all the way down to the smallest community and the home, in national affairs. Alabama cannot hoe its own row different from other states, neither can my State of Georgia. More and more they have got to plan, plan for the future, plan for the present, plan to work with the other fellow. There is one thing you are learning and that is that you have got to cooperate with your



fellow men and women, cooperate in your own community, in your own state and throughout the country.

That is why I have been not only interested but very proud of all that your graduates are doing, of the fine spirit of humane service that the overwhelming majority of them carry with them throughout their lives.

Dr. Moton was talking about getting old. There is one thing that he exemplifies and that is the thought that it is a terrible thing for anybody to say, "Why should I keep on living?" We are coming to the realization that it is a great privilege to be alive, no matter what the number of years we have covered. As somebody has said, it is grand no matter how old you get to want to keep on living because there is still so much to be done. That is the spirit of you youngsters; it is the spirit of us in middle life and it is the spirit, increasingly, of the older people in our Nation.

And so, my boy and girl friends, keep the ideals of your youth all through your lives.

I am happy to have been here. I want to come back some day in the future and I will if I can. In the meantime I give you my affectionate regards. Good luck in all the days to come.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
ALABAMA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE  
March 30, 1939.

My friends of Auburn:

You are near neighbors of mine for, from the top of the hill behind my cottage at Warm Springs, I can see into Alabama. I am glad to come here. My contacts with Auburn in the past have been the famous football games held every Autumn in Columbus and in those games I have to exercise very strict neutrality.

I am glad to come here and see the work that is being done. Last December I had a grave problem with the Senator and the Congressman as to whether we could get in under the line -- get work started before that fateful January 1st -- and I am told that the dirt did begin to fly and that the buildings are therefore entirely constitutional and legal.

I had an experience that did not go quite so well with the University of Alabama. Two years before the President of the University came to Washington to thank me very much for some P.W.A. money that had been allocated for two dormitories to replace the old dormitories that were unsafe. The law at that time provided that we could only use those grants to aid state institutions to replace buildings that had fallen down or were burned down. The President of the University thanked me for the dormitories but, with tears in his eyes, said, "Mr. President, why didn't you give us the new library too?" I said, "But the application did not say anything about an old library which had either fallen down or burned down."

He said, "Mr. President, our library did burn down." I said, "When?" And he said, "In '64. General Sherman came our way." I believe we stretched the point and went back three-quarters of a century to the date of the arson and gave him a new library.

I have been talking with your Governor and the Senator and the Congressman from this district, driving over from Tuskegee, about land. I have been horrified, as I always am horrified, at all that needs to be done in the future to conserve the soil of the south. That is one of the great problems that lies with this generation and with you of the coming generation. That is part of the necessary economy if the South is to survive. But it is tied up with other needs as well, and perhaps I can illustrate by telling you of my first experience with the agriculture of the South.

The first year I went to Warm Springs, fifteen, nearly sixteen years ago, I had a little cottage that was about a thousand feet from the old A. B. & A. tracks. The first night, the second night and the third night I was awakened out of a sound sleep by the sound of a very heavy train going through at pretty high speed and, as it went through town, the whistle blew and woke everybody up. So I went down to the station and said to the stationmaster, "What is that train that makes so much noise and why does it have to whistle at half past one in the morning?" "Oh," he said, "The fireman has got a girl in town."

I asked him what that train was and he said, "That is the milk train for Florida." Well, I assumed of course, knowing that the climate of Florida, especially south Florida, is not very conducive to dairy purposes, that this train on the A. B. & A. contained milk and cream from Alabama and Georgia. I was wrong. That milk and cream for Florida came from Wisconsin and Minnesota and Iowa and Illinois and was taken through all the intervening states of Indiana and Ohio and Kentucky and Tennessee and Alabama and Georgia in order to supply milk and cream and butter for Florida.

That gave me a feeling that something was wrong with the agricultural economy of these states of the lower south because you and I know from what we have been taught and from the experiments that have been made that those states can produce perfectly good milk and cream.

A little while later on I went down to the village to buy some apples. Mind you, this place is only 75 miles from here. I knew -- I had heard of the magnificent apples raised at the southern end of the Appalachian System. I had tasted them; no apples in the world were better. Yet the apples in Meriwether County, Georgia, the only ones I could find, came from Washington and Oregon.

I went to buy meat -- and I know that we can make pastures in these states -- and the only meat that I could buy came via Omaha and Kansas City and Chicago.

I wanted to buy a pair of shoes and the only shoes I could buy had been made in Boston or Binghamton, New York, or St. Louis.

Well, that was fifteen years ago, and there wasn't very much change in that system of economy until about six years ago. It was then we began to ask ourselves, "Why is all this necessary?" I think that we have done more in those six years than in the previous sixty years all through these southern states to make them self-supporting, to give them a balanced economy that will spell a higher wage scale, a greater purchasing power and a more abundant life than they have had in all their history.

It means a lot of work. It means, incidentally, getting the South out of hock to the North. It means establishing your own enterprises down here with your own capital. I don't believe that the South is so broke that it cannot put its own capital into the establishment of its own enterprises.

You young men and women who go through Auburn and go out into every county in this state have a great responsibility, a responsibility not only to put into practice what you have learned here but also the responsibility of trying to devise new methods, new means -- experiments, if you like -- in order to improve the conditions during your own lifetime. I believe you can do it because you are getting the fundamentals, the essential training that will put you into the personal position, give you the personal capacity to use your imagination. We will never get anywhere until we do more and more of that.

I have been called an imaginative person, an experimenter, a seeker of new ideals and, generally, when I have been called that, I have been called something else that does not sound so good. I believe that this country is going somewhere but it must depend for its future progress and prosperity very largely on the younger generation, the people under thirty, the people who have got American ideals and are not afraid of trying new things.

I would like to live long enough to see soil erosion completely stopped in this state and a lot of other states. I would like to live long enough to see the products of factories supplying local needs, state needs. I hope to be able to come back to this State and to the State of Georgia before I die and see at least a part of that ideal come true. For the achievement of that ideal you are going to be responsible in large part.

I am glad to have been with you here today and next Fall I shall -- well, perhaps I shall lean a little bit more towards Auburn than I have before.



INFORMAL REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
OPELIKA, ALABAMA  
March 30, 1939.

My friends of Opelika: I think I can properly say, "My neighbors," because, as you know, I live just a few miles on the other side of the Chattahoochee River and I have been there for a great many years.

When I first went there, it was almost impossible for me to drive from Meriwether County, Georgia, over into Alabama because the roads were -- well, they were not anything to be talked about. Now we are getting, not only through this section of the country but in every other part of the country, by cooperation between the states and the Federal Government, these wonderful highways.

One of the things that I always think about the new system of highways is not only that they provide access from the farm to the different communities and cities, not only that they are good for through travel but that they also give us a chance to get to know our neighbors.

If you go back to the days of the early presidents of the United States, it was almost impossible for them to get to know the country. It was almost impossible because of lack of means of transportation and, even when the railroads came a hundred years ago, the presidents could follow the lines of the railways but they could not get off the railway and see the back country. There were thousands and thousands of communities that no president could get into except with a horse and buggy over a muddy road. Now that has all changed and travel is one of the most important and valuable assets that we have in the country. The more we can get around and see not only our neighbors five and ten miles away and people in the next county, but also people in the next state and in other states, the better it is for us.

If you children think that your education is going to stop when you get through high school, you are very much mistaken. It will be just beginning, only it won't be out of books or during study periods. Your education after you graduate is going to be through contact with other Americans, through seeing other people, through seeing other parts of the country. In that you will have a very great advantage over the older generations because they did not have the same opportunities that you have got today. Just think, in a very few hours I have got off the train and driven through Tuskegee and seen a lot of people there; I have been at Auburn and have seen a lot more people there; I have seen the countryside. I have got to know something because I think I can tell from long experience how things are by looking at the countryside and by looking at people along the highway. And now I am going to West Point and LaGrange and then over to Warm Springs -- a real day of education.

I wish to goodness that I could live another hundred years so as to add to my own education because I have a lot of things to learn.

It has been good to see you today. I have heard a lot about Opelika and of the fine things which have been done here. You are certainly a community with the right spirit; you have gone places and you are going places in the days to come.

I wish I could stay longer but I have got to get to Warm Springs. It is good to have these roses; they will grace my supper table tonight.

Many thanks.

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DEDICATORY EXERCISES  
Georgia Warm Springs Foundation School  
Georgia Warm Springs Foundation  
Warm Springs, Georgia  
April 1, 1939, (about 3.00 P. M.)

MR. BASIL O'CONNOR:

Mr. President, friends of the Foundation:

I am certain that this is a very happy day for all of us. We have a double task -- a triple task today but they are all very pleasant undertakings.

My position today is merely that of master of ceremonies and I shall try to abide by that role.

I think it is most appropriate that I should read to you a letter which I have just received this morning from Mrs. Tuck who, as you know, has given this School to the Foundation:

"Embassy of the  
United States of America

Buenos Aires, Argentina,  
March 25th, 1939.

My dear Mr. O'Connor,

Your letter of March 17th telling me that the school is to be dedicated at 3.00 P. M. on April first, reached me this morning. I have a great longing to be present on that day, - it is with sincere and deep regret that I am unable to do so. I had considered flying to America but having made the trip to Chile by plane two weeks ago to see my family, I gave up the idea, knowing

it was more than I could undertake.

"I am aware of the fact that you may read this letter at the time the School is dedicated, - I realize that the President will be there; this is a great honour and I am most grateful for the President's presence. I would like to take a few minutes of your time to tell the story of how the plans for the School began.

"In June, 1937, Mr. Bullitt, our Ambassador in Paris asked me to help him with the decorating and furnishing of his house in the country. We were making a tour of the antique shops in his car one day when he said to me, 'If ever I can do anything for you or your husband, will you let me know?' I thanked him, and told him I had a request to make immediately! I wanted to know if the President would always maintain his keen and active interest in Warm Springs. Mr. Bullitt said he thought so and wanted to know why I asked the question. I told him I thought so, too, but that I wanted a definite answer to my question! I told him that since 1918 I had been very much interested in work for physically handicapped children, in particular the physiotherapy and scholastic parts of the work, - and that I wanted to give a school but that I wanted to give the school to an institution that was organized and

permanent, and that I could select no better than the institution that was under the guidance and leadership of our President. Mr. Bullitt communicated with the President and my offer was, I am most happy to say, accepted.

"I tell this story because I should like to have Mr. Bullitt identified with the dedication of the School today; he was so largely instrumental and helpful in making today possible, and a great inspiration during the two years that we were privileged to form part of his staff.

"I give this School to the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation with a deep interest and affection for the children who will cross its threshold. I earnestly hope that the Head Mistress and teachers will take an individual interest in each and every child and that these children will learn from them not only their daily lessons but the greater lesson of learning to adjust the individual problems that confront them, to life, with confidence and courage.

"I am at present living in a far distant land, married to a foreign service officer. We have our problems to face as well, and inspiration, courage and confidence comes to us in the knowledge that we are working not only for our country but for our President who has passed so far above and beyond



his personal problems to the great place he occupies in the world for good and right. Our problems become so small in comparison and as I look at the photograph he so kindly gave us, I am given fresh courage each day to try and do my tiny share.

"May this School help to give the President a little added pride in the great and splendid work he is doing at the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation -- this is my most earnest hope.

"I shall be with you all in thought on Saturday, April first, at three o'clock.

"Very sincerely yours, Katherine Tuck."

I suppose there is no one better equipped to tell us what this School will mean to the Foundation than your Head Mistress, Mrs. Huntington.

MRS. HUNTINGTON:

I think it should be interesting on this occasion to hear a few facts connected with the history of this School. Of course it is obvious that a school, such as we have tried to operate, requires different handling from a regular school. First, each pupil requires more personal attention; second, the hours for instruction are short; third, we have to have a wider variety of equipment and, fourth, each pupil requires more floor space. Our present setup illustrates this.

The medical treatment, of course, takes precedence

and should, in my opinion, never be otherwise.

Up until the year 1928, there was no regular Foundation School, there being merely private tutoring for a few patients done by a patient. In 1928, when I came we had only a sort of kindergarten, including three patients and two able bodied, in Mrs. L. Pattison's nursery. It was a private school. In 1929 the school became a part of the Foundation work. Group classes were held in the old playhouse and we had fourteen pupils. In the next seven years we moved back and forth between there, the old Annex and the private dining room of Georgia Hall.

In 1936, two rooms were fixed over in the Bradley Cottage, one for group work and one for tutoring. Up to that time the tutoring had been done most any place and still is, to some extent.

Beginning in 1932 and for five years, Mrs. Hicky Allen was on our staff. Since 1936, Mrs. Shipp has done tutoring. Arthur Bolter, a patient, tutored year before last and last Fall John Barrows was added to our staff, giving special attention to the boys.

Our attendance figures do not furnish a true measure of value. At times we have had 45 pupils. We now have 22, 19 patients and three able-bodied children.

In 1928, the Occupational Therapy Department was started in one room of the then unoccupied Lovelace

Cottage. It was begun by a physio, Nancy Watson and one of her patients, Dick McFeely, as a leather craft hobby, which gradually drew an interested group. They moved to the old playhouse where metal craft was added. These crafts were continued by the house mother, Mrs. Pattison, and Sterling Haver for a year and a half.

In September, 1932, a former patient, our Jeanette Neal, took over craft activities as a definite department and it was again located in one-half of the Lovelace Cottage. After Georgia Hall was built it was located in its south wing. Then began the development of the therapeutic value of occupational therapy, adapting handicrafts as arm exercises. This work then became a branch of the Medical Department. Miss Flora Spurgeon has recently been added to the staff to assist Miss Neal.

You can appreciate from the foregoing sketchy history that we have, through these ten years, been handicapped by the lack of a 'home' and proper equipment. Thanks to Mrs. Tuck, the cooperation of the Trustees and other personnel, we now look forward to a larger measure of success. On behalf of the Staff, I wish to express my deepest appreciation for this magnificent new building and hope that we shall be able to produce such results that neither Mrs. Tuck nor any of you will ever regret having made this possible.



MR. O'CONNOR:

I think I ought to say to you youngsters that you have just had a delightful treat. You may have sat in your schoolrooms on many occasions in fear of your teacher but I can assure you that she has just stood before you in even greater fear. I can only say I hope you handle yourselves as well before her as she has before you.

I am informed that all of the orators today, even including the President, have very bad cases of the jitters. I only arrived this morning, so I don't know what that might be due to.

The next speaker is one who knows Warm Springs as well as any of us. She has been here for many years. She has been devoted to the work here and she is one of the custodians of the fund provided by Mrs. Tuck from which this School will be maintained during the next ten years.

Mrs. Tuck is very glad and so are we to have Mrs. Pierson represent Mrs. Tuck on this occasion.

MRS. PIERSON:

Mrs. Tuck asked me to express her sincere regret in being unable to be present today.

Since she was a very young girl, Mrs. Tuck has been helping physically handicapped children. She

used to be a very active worker at the Detroit Orthopedic Clinic. Later she gave a beautiful pool to the Sigma Gamma Convalescent Home. Then, believing that education is as great a need for the handicapped as health, she gave a well-equipped hospital-school to this same Home.

Though Mrs. Tuck has been living abroad for some years, she had heard of the wonderful accomplishments at Warm Springs. She came to me a few years ago and asked about the educational work being done here. Upon hearing of the lack of adequate facilities, she generously offered to donate the funds to meet this need. This beautiful building is the result.

I wish Mrs. Tuck could be here to see for herself how much it is going to mean to all of us and we hope the next time she comes home from the Argentine she will be our guest here at Warm Springs.

MR. O'CONNOR:

Ladies and Gentlemen, the orator that needs no introduction; the President of the United States:

THE PRESIDENT:

Members of the Warm Springs family and fellow-jitters:

I think that those of us who have been in Warm Springs since the early days of the Foundation are perhaps glad that the completed article did not come into being all at one time; in other words, that it has taken a great many years for us to develop our physical plant. Because it has taken so long, we have probably avoided a great many mistakes that we would have committed if all these buildings had been put up at the beginning.

There again, I want to emphasize one thought to you today about the Foundation. People think of Warm Springs as just a place dedicated to medical care, just another hospital. And yet, thinking back, they cannot realize some of the many problems that we have had to face and still have to face. If, for example, Warm Springs Foundation were located in a city, think of all the things that we would not have to have. Think of the educational facilities of a large community. We would not have to have a fire department; we would not have to have roads. We would not have to have the care of the families of the patients and, believe me, that is quite a care. We would not have to work on the social problem if we were located in a



city. Here we have these many outside matters to think of and to care for, and one of them has been the question of education. It has not been, again, merely the question of running a village school, because in each case we have had to think of the individual problem of the boy or girl who receives instruction. We have had to think not only of book learning but, as time has gone on, the relationship of book learning to what the individual child can do physically and, with that, this growing science of educational training, the need of fitting each case into the broad circumstances of that case.

So, here at Warm Springs, I am glad that we have developed slowly. This building is going to form a very wonderful center. Actually, I go back a good many years before Mrs. Huntington, when the only thing we had in the way of learning was a little bit of a room called 'The Library' and people, when they got through with detective stories and other fairy tales would give their books to the Library. That was the only voluntary instruction of the earlier days. So you see how the place has grown. The whole educational problem has grown with the advance of medical science that goes with the care of the individual patient.

I am very happy because of this splendid gift of Mrs. Tuck and I am sure that I speak for everybody

here when I suggest that Mr. O'Connor send her a telegram to tell her of these delightful dedicatory exercises, that all of the Warm Springs family were here and that they hope very much when she returns to the United States she will come down to Warm Springs and visit us.

DEDICATORY EXERCISES

Plaque in memory of George Foster Peabody  
Georgia Hall, Georgia Warm Springs Foundation  
Warm Springs, Georgia  
April 1, 1939

MR. O'CONNOR:

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you all know, Mr. George Foster Peabody was one of the first trustees of this Foundation and he continued as trustee until the time of his death. Through the generosity of his daughter, Mrs. Waite, a very beautiful plaque has been given to the Foundation.

Dr. Johnson, speaking for Mrs. Waite, will now make the formal presentation of that plaque to the Foundation.

DR. JOHNSON:

As a favorite resort of Georgia and other southern people, Warm Springs was well known to George Foster Peabody, and hearing this property was for sale, he resolved to look it over with the idea in mind of turning it into a Recreational Park and presenting it to his native State -- Georgia. So the next opportunity found him here being shown about by Mr. Loyless (a well-known newspaperman of Columbus, Georgia, Mr. Peabody's native city), who called his attention to a young man dancing in the Hotel. This Mr. Joseph had been a victim of Infantile Paralysis for several years but for two summers had been exercising in the pool and was now pointed out as dancing in the Hotel.



Mr. Peabody's quick mind thought at once of his friend of the years in political life, in New York and in Washington -- Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and without delay wrote Mr. Roosevelt what he had seen, urging him to come at once to see for himself what the Springs might do for him. Mr. Roosevelt was interested for he had been told by Dr. Goldthwaite, of Boston, that exercising the muscles in warm water was the best treatment a polio sufferer could have. Accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt he came immediately and the rest of the story is known to the world at large. The original of this portrait in bronze of George Foster Peabody was made from life by Evelyn Longman Botchelder and was given to the Hall of Springs, Saratoga Springs, New York. This replica is the gift of Marjorie Peabody Waite and Allma Gilbert Pardee, and it is my pleasure, in their behalf, to present it to you, Mr. President, as also the President of Georgia Warm Springs Foundation.

MR. O'CONNOR:

And now, the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT:

I am very glad indeed to accept this plaque on behalf of the Foundation for two reasons: The first is that the Foundation in a very true sense would not be in existence today had it not been for Mr. Peabody.

Dr. Johnson has told you of those early years, of the case of young Joseph and of my coming down here. I can remember also when the first patients came and I, very much panic stricken -- for they had come without warning or notice -- telephoned over to Dr. Johnson to please come over and see if they were going to live. So Dr. Johnson himself was one of the pioneers and I hope that he will be with the Foundation just as long as I am and that means just as long as we live.

There is another thought, too. Those of us who knew Mr. Peabody remember that he lived to a very ripe old age. At the same time we remember that Mr. Peabody's heart was just as young when he was up in his eighties as when he was down in his twenties. We shall always remember that youthful spirit and the fact that all through his life, just as much in his later years as in his early years, he was trying to do good for mankind, not just here at the Foundation but in many other places, such as Saratoga and New York City, trying to do good for human beings, men and women of every color and race and creed. These things will be remembered,

not today, but through all the years to come.

And so we, on the Foundation, are very proud that he was associated with us from the beginning.



DEDICATORY EXERCISES  
Norman Wilson Memorial Hospital  
Georgia Warm Springs Foundation  
Warm Springs, Georgia  
April 1, 1939

MR. O'CONNOR:

I think to all of us who followed the activities of this Foundation for twelve years, this Medical Building comes about as close to the realization of a dream as one could expect.

No one can tell you better what it means than your present Surgeon-in-Chief. We have had only three of those creatures here in twelve years and I think that is a fine record for this Foundation.

As you know, we first had that glorious individual, Dr. Hubbard. We then had the eminent and able Dr. Hoke. We now have all of them combined in Dr. Irwin.

DR. IRWIN:

Mr. President, Mr. O'Connor, friends:

I feel that we are gathered here today to celebrate the achievement of a goal, to memorialize, if you please, the advent of a new era in the progress that has been made at the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation in the treatment of that phase of infantile paralysis for which this institution was founded. This modern physical plant which spreads before us this afternoon, possessing all the facilities necessary for the correct treatment of the

various problems arising after the acute convalescence, is the realization of a dream that had its inception in the heart and mind of our beloved President who was its Founder some twelve years ago. In the beginning, the pool of natural warm water located at the foot of this hill was the one big machine or tool used to fashion all of our end results. At that time it did a fine job and still continues a most important cog in the wheels of our present-day machinery and serves a specific purpose in carrying out treatment for those patients for whom hydrotherapy is indicated. Today it stands as a monument as having been the means of helping create renewed interest in infantile paralysis throughout the country.

As time passed, conditions made it necessary to broaden our field or scope of treatment, to supplement hydrotherapy with additional methods as all problems did not lend themselves to the efficacy of a single regimen. Many cases within a few weeks after their acute onset presented themselves for treatment -- their condition on admission demanded prolonged rest in bed with medical and nursing care, which we were unable to provide. We had to be on the alert to prevent deformities while improvement in muscle power was taking place. A great number of cases had well-defined deformities on admission which needed correction before any type

of physical therapy could be of value. In some instances this could be accomplished by braces or a series of corrective plaster casts or, in advanced cases, surgical intervention was necessary. All these phases of treatment, and many more too numerous to mention at this time, have been added during the past few years, but not without some inconvenience -- and yet not to the same degree as that experienced by our Founders in their work during the early years. And as our results from this more individualized type of treatment merited space for its continuance, the Trustees have seen fit to provide us with this modern up-to-date workshop which houses a complete armamentarium, a specific tool for every problem. On completion it will no longer be impossible to provide proper orthopaedic supervision and adequate medical and nursing care for those individuals handicapped to the extent that unaided they would be unable to take care of their personal needs. It will no longer be necessary to do all surgery in a distant locality with added discomfort to the patient and inconvenience to the staff.

Needless to say, the provision of these facilities fills me with inexpressable joy and now may I, representing the Medical Department of the Foundation, ask all of you to unite with us in seeking God's guidance and direction in the utilization of these facilities that



we, at all times, may exercise the necessary wisdom and skill which in the end will have provided a richer and fuller service for those individuals entrusted to our care.

I thank you!

MR. O'CONNOR:

At the close of these exercises there will be buried, for the edification of future archaeologists, in front of the Medical Building a sealed copper box containing the following articles:

- One long-leg walking brace.
- One corset complete with attachment.
- One thumb splint.
- One paper containing the signatures of all brace shop employees -- John did that!
- One envelope containing a message from the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt.
- A copy of the Atlanta Constitution and a copy of the Warm Springs Mirror.

No one could make the circuit we have just made and not realize fully that only an exceptional vision twelve years ago could have foreseen what we see today. I think it is only fair to say simply that there are few men who would have had the courage, the perseverance and the foresight to carry through an institution of this kind up to its present development and I know that no one takes greater pleasure than the President in dedicating this new Medical Building. The President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT:

Dr. Irwin was right when he spoke of this new building as the attainment of one of the major goals that we have been striving for for a great many years. I think it was eleven years ago that Henry Toombs and I one night worked on some sketch plans for the Campus. At that time there was no Campus. There was the old wooden hotel that many of us remember and a few off-center, ramshackle cottages down at this end and a few similar off-center ramshackle cottages at the other end. There was no order, no plan. At that time Henry Toombs and I put down on paper the first sketch of what is now the Warm Springs Campus.

I am glad that Dr. Irwin has also told you something about the great strides in the care of infantile paralysis during these intervening years. If at that time we had done more on that original plan than to put a square down at this end of the proposed Campus and label it "Medical Center," if we had attempted to draw the plans of a Medical Center, medical science would have out-distanced us before the building was a year old.

Now, however, I think we all feel that we are working along lines of permanency in the development of medical care and that this building will last for generations to come because it has been designed right and built right.

So it is with great pleasure that I dedicate this building today, and I might add the thought that the braces and other implements which are about to be buried in the box are a symbol of what we are doing here at Warm Springs for the patients, getting rid of physical handicaps of every form and, where we cannot get rid of them altogether, making them so infinitesimal, so insignificant in the life of the individual that they no longer count.

I think that today can be put down as one of the great red-letter days in the history of the Foundation. We dedicate this building not only to those who are here now and those who will be here in the days to come, not only to that very small fraction of infantile paralysis sufferers that we now have room for, or will ever have room for at Warm Springs, but we dedicate this building to crippled boys and girls all over the United States and other countries for generations to come.



INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
From the Portico of the White House  
Washington, D. C.  
Easter Monday, April 10, 1939

This is the seventh time that Mrs. Roosevelt and I have had the great privilege of having you on the White House lawn on Easter Monday and I am glad that I was able to get back from Warm Springs and Mrs. Roosevelt from the Pacific Coast in time to greet you today.

It is a wonderful day and I hope you will all enjoy yourselves very much. I wish I could be down there with you.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union  
Pan American Building, Washington, D. C.  
Pan American Day, April 14, 1939, 11.00 A. M.

GENTLEMEN OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION:

I am glad to come here today on our Pan American  
forty-ninth birthday.

The American family of nations pays honor today to the oldest and most successful association of sovereign governments (which) that exists in all the world.

Few of us realize that the Pan American organization as we know it has now attained a longer history and a greater catalogue of achievements than any similar group known to modern history. Justly we can be proud of it. With even more right we can look to it as a symbol of great hope at a time when much of the world finds hope dim and difficult. Never was it more fitting to salute Pan American Day than in the stormy present.

For upwards of half a century the Republics of the Western World have been working together to promote their common civilization under a system of peace. That venture, launched so successfully and hopefully fifty years ago, has succeeded; the American family is today a great cooperative group facing a troubled world in serenity and calm.

This success of the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all

of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems. The Americas are sufficiently rich to have been themselves the object of desire on the part of overseas governments; our traditions in history are as deeply rooted in the Old World as are those of Europe.

It was not accident that prevented South America, and our own West, from sharing the fate of other great areas of the world in the nineteenth century. We have here diversities of race, of language, of custom, of natural resources, and of intellectual forces at least as great as those which prevailed in Europe.

What was it then that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found. A new, and powerful ideal -- that of the community of nations -- sprang up at the same time that the Americas became free and independent. It was nurtured by statesmen and thinkers and plain people for (decades) many generations. Gradually it brought together the Pan American group of governments; today it has fused the thinking of the peoples, and the desires of their responsible representatives toward a common objective.

The result of this thinking through all these years has been to shape a typically American institution. This is the Pan American group, which works in open conference,



by open agreement. And we hold our conferences not as a result of wars, but as the result of our will to peace.

Elsewhere in the world, to hold conferences such as ours, which meet every five years, it is necessary to fight a major war, until exhaustion or defeat at length brings governments together to reconstruct their shattered fabrics.

Greeting a conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, I took occasion to say this:

"The madness of a great war in another part of the world would affect us and threaten our good in a hundred ways. And the economic collapse of any nation or nations must of necessity harm our own prosperity. Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends? Yes, I am confident that we can."

And now, two and a half years later, I still have that confidence. There is no fatality which forces the Old World towards new catastrophes. Men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners (of) in their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment.

Only a few days ago the head of a great nation referred to his country as a "prisoner" (of) in the Mediterranean. A little later, another chief of state, on learning that a neighbor country had agreed to defend the independence of another neighbor, characterized that agreement as a "threat", (and) as an "encirclement." Yet there is no such thing as (encircling) encirclement, or threatening, or

imprisoning any peaceful nation by other peaceful nations. We have reason to know (this) that in our own experience.

For instance, on the occasion of a visit to the neighboring Dominion of Canada last summer, I stated that the United States would join in defending Canada were she ever attacked from overseas. And again at Lima, in December last, the twenty-one American nations joined in a declaration that they would coordinate their common efforts to defend the integrity of their institutions from any attack, direct or indirect.

At Buenos Aires, in 1936, all of us agreed that in the event of any war or threat of war on this continent we would consult together to remove or to obviate that threat. Yet in no case did any American nation regard any of these understandings as making any one of them a "prisoner", or as "encircling" any American country, or as a threat of any sort or kind.

Measures of this kind taken in this hemisphere are taken as guarantees, not of war but of peace, for the simple reason that no nation on this hemisphere has any will to aggression, or any desire to establish dominance or mastery. Equally, because we are interdependent, and because we know it, no American nation seeks to deny any neighbor access to the economic and other resources which it must have to live in prosperity.

In these circumstances, my friends, dreams of con-

quest appear to us as ridiculous as they are criminal. Pledges designed to prevent aggression, accompanied by the open doors of trade and intercourse, and bound together by common will to cooperate peacefully, make warfare between us as outworn and useless as the weapons of the Stone Age. We may proudly boast that we have begun to realize in Pan American relations what civilization in intercourse between countries really means.

If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual and spiritual process may succeed elsewhere? Do we really have to assume that nations can find no better methods of realizing their destinies than those which were used by the Huns and the Vandals fifteen hundred years ago?

The American peace which we celebrate today has no quality of weakness in it! We are prepared to maintain it, and to defend it to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any one of our group.

Should the method of attack be that of economic pressure, I pledge that my (own) country will also give economic support, so that no American nation need surrender any fraction of its sovereign freedom to maintain its economic welfare. (This) That is the spirit and intent of the Declaration of Lima: the solidarity of the continent.



The American family of nations may also rightfully claim, now, to speak to the rest of the world. We have an interest, wider than that of the mere defense of our sea-ringed continent. We know now that the development of the next generation will so narrow the oceans separating us from the Old World, that our customs and our actions are necessarily involved with hers, whether we like it or not.

Beyond question, within a few scant (few) years air fleets will cross the ocean as easily as today they cross the closed European seas. Economic functioning of the world becomes (increasingly) therefore necessarily a unit; no interruption of it anywhere can fail, in the future, to disrupt economic life everywhere.

The past generation in Pan American matters was concerned with constructing the principles and the mechanisms through which this hemisphere would work together. But the next generation will be concerned with the methods by which the New World can live together in peace with the Old.

The issue is really whether our civilization is to be dragged into the tragic vortex of unending militarism punctuated by periodic wars, or whether we shall be able to maintain the ideal of peace, individuality and civilization as the fabric of our lives. We have the right to say that there shall not be an organization of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries into barracks, unless we are to be the vassals of some conquering empire.

Yes, the truest defense of the peace of our hemisphere must always lie in the hope that our sister nations beyond the seas will break the bonds of the ideas (which) that constrain them towards perpetual warfare. By example we can at least show them the possibility. We, too, have a stake in world affairs.

And our will to peace can be as powerful as our will to mutual defense; it can command greater loyalty, greater devotion, (and) greater discipline than that enlisted elsewhere for temporary conquest or equally futile glory. It will have its voice in determining the order of world affairs in the days to come.

This, gentlemen, is the living message which the New World can and does send to the Old. It can be light opening on dark waters. And it shows the path of peace.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered at Mt. Vernon, Virginia  
April 14, 1939, 2.47 P. M.

MADAM REGENT, MISTER DIRECTOR GENERAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

We have come to the home of George Washington today in memory of (another) that other day, exactly one hundred and fifty years ago, when the owner of Mount Vernon received a message from the (first) Congress of the United States, the first Congress of the United States.

Here in his beloved Mount Vernon he listened to (the) that formal message from the Congress announcing his election as the first President of the United States of America.

Charles Thomson, (his guest) the bearer of this message, the guest of Washington, had ridden hither from New York to bring it -- Charles Thomson, native of County Derry in Ireland, a Pennsylvania Irishman, with a passionate zeal for liberty, who, through fifteen eventful years, had served as the Secretary of the Continental Congress.

We who are here today can readily visualize that scene from this porch -- the sprouting lawn, the budding trees and the dogwoods, and the majestic Potomac running by at the foot of the hill. We can visualize the thoughts, too, which flowed through General Washington's mind. Saying farewell to his army in 1783, the independence of the Colonies assured, he, already the Father of his Country, had returned to his beloved (Mount Vernon) home with the (hope and) expectation that his task was done and that



he would live a happy and useful life on his broad acres (during) the remainder of his days.

But trying times still lay ahead for the struggling nation, and those years after 1783 proved the most critical peace years in all our history.

Called from his home, he had presided with skill and patience over the Constitutional Convention (in) of 1787. And anxiety and doubt had attended him for many months thereafter while he and the thirteen States waited for belated news that the Constitution itself had been ratified (by the States).

I take it that when the permanent framework of (the) this Union of ours had been assured in the Summer of 1788, the elections ordered and the First Congress summoned, General Washington must have known that the task of the Presidency would, without question, fall on him.

It meant that once more he would leave Mount Vernon behind him, with no certainty of his return, and that on his shoulders, in the far off North, would lie the burden of initiating the civil leadership of a new, untried Republic.

He knew that his would be the task of ending uncertainty, of ending jealousy between the Several States and of creating, with the help of the Congress, a functioning national government fit to take its place among the organized nations of the world.

Two days later he and his family were to set forth on that long and difficult journey by highway and ferry and barge, which was to culminate in his Inauguration as President on the balcony of Federal Hall in New York City on April 30, 1789.

Doubtless on this very porch he sat with Charles Thomson hearing at first-hand of the long efforts of the first Senate and the first House of Representatives to obtain a quorum, learning of the unanimity by which the votes of the Electors were cast for him, listening to the precedents that were being set in the conduct of the first Legislature under the Constitution, and thinking doubtless that his own every move from that day on for many years (to come) would be chronicled for future generations and thereby set the tempo and the customs of the Presidency of the United States.

But I am to be forgiven if I, the Thirty-First individual who has borne the title of President, if I dwell for a moment on the feelings within the heart of him who was about to be the First President.

Washington was essentially a man close to mother earth. His early training on a plantation, his profession of surveyor, his studies in agriculture and the development of farm lands were never replaced by his outstanding military service under Braddock or as Commander-in-Chief for the eight years of the Revolution.

We know that when Mount Vernon came to him by inheritance, here his heart was planted for all time. Here he could talk with his neighbors about the improvements of navigation on the river, about grist mills on the creeks, about the improving of highways, about the dream of a canal to the western country, about saw mills and rotation of crops, about the top soil, which even then had begun to run off to the sea, about the planting of trees, new varieties of food and fodder crops, new breeds of horses and cattle and sheep.

Here, too, he had his books and was in touch with the authors and artists of the new and old worlds.

Here at the junction point of the North and (of) the South, at the foot of one of the main arteries that led to the exciting new lands beyond the Mountains, the travelers and the news stopped at his door.

Rightly he must have felt that his labors in the service of his State and of his Nation had rounded out his contribution to the public weal. Rightly he must have felt that he had earned the privilege of returning for all time to the private life which had been his dream.

That Washington would have refused public service if the call had been a normal one has always been my belief. But the summons to the Presidency had come to him in a time of real crisis and deep emergency. The dangers that beset the young nation were as real as though the very independence



that Washington had won for it had been threatened once more by foreign foes. Clear it must have been that the permanence of the Republic was at stake and that if the new government, under the Constitution, should fail in its early days, the several states falling out among themselves would become so many small and weak nations subject to attack and conquest from overseas.

And so, my friends, it came about that once more he put from him the life he loved so well and took upon himself the Presidency.

That cannot have been a wholly happy day for General and Mrs. George Washington on the fourteenth of April 1789 -- it must have been a day of torn emotions, a day of many regrets.

But the decision had been made. And we, their successors, are thankful for that decision and proud of it. And I think that it would have made General and Mrs. Washington happy if they had known then that one hundred and fifty years later tens of millions of Americans would appreciate and understand how they felt that day in their Mount Vernon home.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered to the National Parole Conference  
East Room of the White House  
April 17, 1939, 6.00 P. M., E. S. T.

(MY FRIENDS:)

MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

There are a few occasions when I wish the White House were bigger. (Applause) But most of the time I wish it were a great deal smaller.

I am happy to welcome you to the National Parole Conference and to have an opportunity to talk with you and our radio neighbors throughout the country about parole and also about some of the broad questions of law enforcement as a national problem.

As many of you know, the control of crime is a problem which I began studying many years ago as a member of the executive committee of the National Crime Commission. And later, during my administration as Governor of New York, the improvement of the state penal and correctional system became one of my (first) most important responsibilities. Many of you, and especially my old friend, Sam Lewisohn, were of invaluable assistance in that task, which included the establishment of a modern parole system.

All of us have come to realize that while the responsibility for the control of crime falls primarily (in) on the states and their subdivisions, the activities of criminals are not limited by local and state boundaries.

The consequences of lax law enforcement and crime-breeding conditions in one part of the country may be felt in cities and villages and farms all across the continent. For instance, I think of the operations of a criminal gang (which) that had its origins in the slum section of a small southwestern city. Before the members of (this) that gang were rounded up, successfully prosecuted, and put in prison by the Federal Government, they had left a trail of robbery and violence in seven midwestern states. (This) That illustrates the essentially nationwide character of the crime problem.

Crime cannot be held in check by a good police system alone. Occasional brilliant prosecutions may arouse our admiration, but they do not solve the crime problem. Long prison sentences for notorious criminals have not rid us of thousands who escape undetected or unpunished because our defenses break down at one point or (another) other.

Public protection against law-breakers demands efficient police work, able and fearless prosecutions, prompt, fair trials, and the intelligent and constructive treatment of the guilty -- not just here and there, not only when well-known characters are involved, but in all the cases in all jurisdictions (throughout) in every part of the land.

With this in mind, this Administration initiated early in 1933 a definite program of crime control (which)



that had three major objectives.

First of all, we sought to broaden and strengthen Federal law enforcement. Secondly, we took steps to promote more effective cooperation among the states themselves, and between the states and the Federal Government. And finally, through a broad program of social welfare, we struck at the very roots of crime itself.

As a first step (the) Attorney General Cummings outlined a twelve-point legislative program (which) that resulted in the enactment of twenty-one new Federal crime statutes. Two of those laws gave to the Federal Government -- we all know about it -- drastic powers in kidnaping cases, with the result that the back of the kidnaping racket has been broken. Every home in the country has shared in the sense of relief that has come from the vigorous enforcement of the anti-kidnaping laws.

Other new laws empowered the national government to bring its resources into action against robbers of banks. There have been 245 convictions since this National Bank Robbery Law was enacted.

Here are some figures, just by way of illustration, on the daylight hold-ups of banks, compiled by the American Bankers' Association. In 1933, in that year, there were 516 daylight hold-ups. In 1934, the year the new Law became effective, the number fell to 364. In 1935 it was down to 268; in 1936, it was down still further to 149; and in

1937 it dropped to 120. Last year, 1938, there were only 110 bank hold-ups -- only about one-fifth as many as there were in 1933, five years before, and I think that is a pretty good record. (A good record!)

Another (new) law made it a Federal crime to transport stolen goods, in excess of \$5,000 in value, transport them across state lines. Still another made it unlawful for any person to flee from one state to another to avoid prosecution or appearance as a material witness in a criminal case.

These and the other new Federal anti-trust (laughter) anti-crime laws (interrupted by laughter and applause) -- I wonder what the connection is. (Laughter) I can assure you it was a pure slip of the tongue; there were no mental reservations. These, the other new Federal anti-crime laws do not supplant state laws but they plug the gaps between the authority of one state and that of its neighbors. They permit the forces of law and order to occupy what was formerly a no-man's land in which as we know roamed some of (our) the most desperate criminals of modern times.

But, of course, laws do not enforce themselves. And so we set about systematically to enlarge and improve the equipment and personnel of the Federal agencies of detection and prosecution. The agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Justice Department -- what

they call the G-man -- have justly become world famous. Likewise, the agents of the several investigating units in the Treasury Department, the Postal Inspectors, and their co-workers in other branches of the Government have made enviable records in the apprehension of offenders against Federal laws. The efforts of these investigators have been ably supported by a fine corps of United States Attorneys and special prosecutors. Many of these United States Attorneys are here today, and I am glad to welcome them as they assemble to canvass with Attorney General Murphy the ways in which their campaign against crime (may) can be waged even more effectively.

A new spirit and a new energy have been breathed into our Federal court system also. Thirty-eight new district judgeships have been authorized, (which will) to accelerate the splendid progress made in bringing the business of the courts more nearly up-to-date. Archaic forms of civil procedure have been cast aside for a uniform and simple set of rules which will help to speed the wheels of justice. A way of avoiding long delays in determining the constitutionality of Federal laws has been opened up by permitting appeal directly from the lower courts to the Supreme Court itself.

With the authorization of Congress we have also instituted an important change of method in the handling of juvenile offenders against Federal laws. The courts and



and the Attorney General are now given wide latitude very properly, latitude in determining how best to protect the safety of society by trying to prevent a young delinquent from becoming an habitual criminal. Charges against an offender under the age of eighteen may now be heard informally, and if probation is not desirable, the Attorney General is authorized to place him in any suitable public or private educational or correctional institution.

Another important part of our program has been the improvement of the Federal penal and correctional system itself in all of its branches. We (have) built different kinds of institutions for different kinds of prisoners, ranging from the now famous penitentiary for the most hardened offenders, on Alcatraz Island, to unwallled reformatories and camps for the offenders who are less dangerous and who seem to offer real hope of becoming law-abiding citizens.

In the administration of our Federal penal institutions we use every known aid to rehabilitation according to the needs of the prisoner. After all, the primary purpose of the prison is to protect the public by releasing men at the end of their sentences better and not worse than when they were received. For that reason, we have enlarged and improved the opportunities for education and vocational training in the Federal prison system. Moreover, we (have) provided useful work for those who need to learn how to earn

an honest living -- and we have done it without selling a dollar's worth of goods on the open market in competition with private industry or free labor. We can, I think, look for still further improvement, yes, great improvement, as we learn more, in the administration of the Federal prisons as the years go by because we have put the personnel of the prison service on a merit basis with training courses for employees of all grades.

(Each) Every year for (several) a number of years we have increased the number of Federal probation and parole officers and last year we raised the standards governing their appointment. Today the field staff of the Bureau of Prisons is supervising nearly thirty thousand men and women on probation or on parole. No finer tribute could be paid to the work of these officials and to the United States Board of Parole than to mention the fact that about ninety-five per cent of those under their control complete their sentences without further violations of the law.

But our efforts to suppress wrongdoing have not been confined to the field of violent crimes. Through the securities and exchange legislation we have sought to protect the average investor from the depredations of unprincipled financial manipulators. In the administration of this legislation we have struck hard at those gangsters in high places who differ from the ordinary robbers only in the fact that they use the tricky weapons of high finance

instead of sawed-off shotguns. (Applause)

And let us not wholly forget the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. (Laughter and applause) You know, and I know, what a toll that took from this country through the flouting of law by thousands of otherwise respectable people as well as through the activities of bootleggers and racketeers who flourished (during) in the prohibition years. It was undoubtedly the greatest source of revenue for organized crime that this nation has ever known.

While we have been tightening up on Federal law enforcement we have also been making headway toward the second of our broad objectives -- the development of closer cooperation between the agencies of the several states and those of the Federal Government. The Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice has organized the National Police Academy where carefully chosen local peace officers are given training in modern police work. Expert (and) technical services have been made available to state prison and parole authorities by the Bureau of Prisons. The W. P. A., the Works Progress Administration, in addition to cooperating with the Justice Department in making the first nation-wide survey of the methods by which prisoners are released into society, has furnished much-needed personnel for educational and other programs in the institutions of thirty-two states of the Union. It has installed police signal systems (and), fingerprint files in cities (which)



that could not otherwise afford them. It has (also) furnished the labor for the construction or the repair of jails and police stations throughout the country. And through another agency, the Public Works Administration, over twenty-six million dollars has been made available for the construction, improvement, and repair of prisons and jails, with the result that many old, unhealthy, and overcrowded centers of crime infection have been replaced by modern facilities. Of (this) that amount, over eleven million dollars has been for state and local projects.

So you will see that all of these direct attacks on crime which we have made through the extending and strengthening of Federal activities and in helping to improve state and local agencies of law enforcement are very, very important. But I like to think that the most far-reaching results have come from our broad program of social welfare -- from our work relief projects, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and the related measures for providing useful work for those of our citizens who are unemployed by private industry. Our citizens who have been out of work in the last six years have not needed to steal in order to keep from starving. (Applause) Of course, when we instituted (these) those activities we did not have in mind merely the narrow purpose of preventing crime. However, nobody who knows how demoralizing the effects of enforced idleness may be will be inclined to doubt

that crime prevention has been an important by-product of our effort to provide our needy unemployed citizens with the opportunity to earn by honest work at least the bare necessities of life. And a considerable part of that honest work has been devoted to the construction and supervision of such social assets as playgrounds, athletic fields, municipal swimming pools, gymnasiums, workshops, traveling libraries, schools and other educational and recreational facilities (which) that are of particular benefit to youth and that has an effect on crime.

Throughout the depression approximately (one) a third of all our unemployed have been youth, young people, under the age of twenty-five. Not long ago I read a report from a small city which had a reputation for juvenile delinquency. In collaboration with local agencies, the (National Youth Administration) N. Y. A. started a work project (which) that provided part-time jobs for the idle youth of (this) the community. When the project was first started there was considerable "soldiering" on the job but gradually the interest and the pride of those boys in the job itself was aroused. For the five months since this N. Y. A. project had been started there had not been a single complaint of delinquency to the local (peace) police officers. That is a concrete contribution to our common security -- not only now but for (the) years to come.

So, as I review our achievements in this coordinated

drive against crime, it seems to me that we have made the least progress in the very important matter of getting people from prison back (into) to society. (This) That conclusion I am told is confirmed by the findings of the Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures now being published by the Department of Justice. This is an unfortunate state of affairs. Let us not forget for one moment that ninety-seven out of every (one) hundred of the men and women we send to prison must some day come out of prison again. Between 60,000 and 70,000 persons are released from Federal and state prisons and reformatories back into the communities of the country every single year. What they do when they come out is a matter of great importance to all of (us) then, to every citizen and every man, woman and child, to every father and mother. It is a nation-wide problem and at the same time it is a local problem. We make little permanent gain by the arrest, the prosecution, and the punishment of prisoners if they go back, when they come out, to criminal activities. More than one-half of the persons in prison today have had to be locked up at least once before for a violation of the law. Yes, we might as well admit it. Taking it by and large, we have bungled in the manner and the method of their release.

After the necessarily strict routine of prison life we know that it is difficult for a discharged prisoner to stand on his own feet in the swift-running currents of a free



man's world. Often, if he has been in prison very long, he will have lost the habit of making his own decisions. He usually faces tremendous difficulties in finding a job. In many cases his prison record puts him off from the friendship of law-abiding people. These circumstances tend to push a man back to a life of crime unless we make it our business to help him overcome them. And when I say "we", I do not mean just those of us from the point of view of government or because we have a great social interest in the problem. I mean all of the average citizens in every community in the whole of the United States. That is the reason (why) I have long been of the opinion that this problem of parole is the most promising method of terminating a prison sentence. But that it has got to have the interest of the citizens of the country if we are to carry through on that improvement.

Parole is the conditional release of an offender under expert supervision while the state still has control over him. It is an integral part of the treatment begun the moment the man enters a correctional institution.

And parole must not be confused with other things. Parole is not pardon. When a man is pardoned, his crime is forgiven.

Parole is not a shortening of the sentence because of good behavior in prison. This is called "good time allowance" or commutation for good behavior, and it is given by

law as an aid to prison discipline.

Parole is not probation. A person on probation has never been sent to prison for his offense.

And, of course, parole differs from outright discharge on the final day of the offender's sentence. When a man is paroled, he is still subject to the control of the authorities and he can be put back into prison without a formal trial if he does not live up to the conditions of his release.

The true purpose of parole is to protect society -- all of us -- by supervising and assisting released prisoners until they have a chance to get on their feet and show that they intend to live law-abiding, self-supporting lives.

Now, naturally, I am speaking of real, honest, well-administered parole: parole granted only after a prisoner has shown improvement during a long period of constructive treatment and training in prison and only after a thorough and searching study of his case; parole under the supervision of qualified parole officers.

Much of the criticism (which) we have heard directed at parole is due to the fact that while forty-six (of our) states of our Union have parole laws, less than a dozen out of those forty-six have provided the money and the personnel which are necessary to operate a real parole system. Some of the criticism is due, too, to the fact that the parole power sometimes -- yes I would say often -- has been used to

grant political or personal favors. (This) That combination of neglect and abuse in the administration of the parole power is a matter of serious national concern. How well or how poorly a parole system operates in one section of the country may affect the lives of citizens (throughout the nation) in every other part of the country.

On the other hand, we know from experience that parole, when it is honestly and expertly managed, provides better protection for society than does any other method of release from prison. That has been shown by the operation of the Federal parole system and in those states which have applied modern parole methods.

These are the reasons why I asked the Attorney General (Murphy) to call this National Parole Conference. As I wrote (to) him on January 25th, (1939) of this year, I hope that this conference will serve to acquaint our people with the facts concerning parole and clear up widespread misconceptions about it. Parole will never succeed if it is merely a government function and does not have the understanding and help of the individual citizens in every community.

And it is especially important that people in the United States, the whole of our citizenship, should not be deceived by violent attacks on properly run parole administrations if, as has happened, one parolee goes wrong and commits another crime. The fact is that while a properly run parole system (gives no) cannot give the guarantee of



perfection, the percentages of parolees who go straight for the rest of their lives, those percentages are infinitely higher than where there is no parole system at all.

I hope that you will let us know the ways in which the Federal Government can best cooperate with the governments of the several states in strengthening this important sector of our nation-wide attack on crime. I felt that these objectives could not be reached unless this conference included representatives of all branches of law enforcement, public welfare administration, and the general public as well. A technical job necessarily, it is one (which) that must be geared into the work of other branches of law enforcement.

That is why Attorney General Murphy has invited governors and judges and legislators, state attorneys general, prosecutors, police and prison officials, public welfare administrators, social workers and educators, and representative citizens as well as those directly engaged in parole work to take part in this conference.

Democracy succeeds through the thoughtful public service of its citizens. And a conference of this kind (is) seems to me to be in accord with the American democratic way.

Well-administered parole is an instrument of tested value in the control of crime. Its proper use in all jurisdictions in every state will promote our national security.

If your deliberations serve that end, as I am sure they will, you will have rendered a very important public service, for which you will deserve and get the thanks of the American people. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered before  
The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy  
East Room of the White House  
April 23, 1939, 10.00 A. M.

MADAM SECRETARY AND MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE:

It is, perhaps, because I happened to be born with what (may) might be called a "relative mind" and because I have sought to cultivate that kind of thinking for nearly half a century that I think of this Conference in the first instance in terms of the past.

Child welfare (--- to use a much misused term ---) in the old days did not enter into the public conscience of any nation in a big way until about (one) a hundred years ago. And we know from reading Dickens and the literature of (his) that period that the well-being of children in those early (days) years was principally considered from the viewpoint of schooling, (and) of crime prevention and the ending of physical cruelty to the children -- all of them, of course, interwoven with the well-known sentimentality of the good, the ultra-good, Victorians.

As time went on some interest seemed to come, some interest came to be taken in every nation, but still the activities of those who sought the bettering of the younger generation of the moment viewed the problem before them as a problem somewhat apart from the relationship of the younger generation to the broader public national weal.



And, not so long ago, even at the time of the first Children's Conference to assemble in the White House under the leadership of President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909, the conditions that surrounded child life were discussed more in terms of child life by itself than in terms of the national community.

This was true to a very great extent in the two succeeding White House Conferences, and it occurs to me that this, the fourth Conference, marks a new and a somewhat changed era.

It is still our task to bring to bear (upon) on the major problems of child life all the wisdom (and) the understanding that can be distilled from the compilation(s) of facts, from the intuitions of common sense, and from professional skill. This Conference, like the others, is composed of men and women having a broad range of experience and interest in matters pertaining to the welfare of children. It is our purpose to review the objectives and methods affecting the safety and the well-being and the happiness of the younger generation and their preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship.

But we have gone one step further. Definitely we are here with a principal objective of considering the relationship between a successful democracy and the children who form an integral part of that democracy. We no longer set them apart from democracy as if they were a segregated group.

They are at one with democracy because of two facts, they, the children are dependent upon (a) democracy and, secondly, democracy is dependent on them.

Our work will not be concluded at the end of (the) one day or two days -- it will only have begun. During the greater part of the coming year the members of this Conference representing every State in the Union and many fields of endeavor, will be at work. In thousands of places, we shall be testing our institutions, and our own convictions and attitudes of mind as they affect our actions as parents and as citizens, we shall be testing them in terms of their significance to the childhood of (our) the Nation and, therefore, the Nation itself.

In an address on Pan American Day, two weeks ago, I said "men are not prisoners of fate, but only prisoners of their own minds. They have within themselves the power to become free at any moment." And a few days later, on April fifteenth, in addressing the heads of two great foreign States, I stated that I refused to believe that the world is, of necessity, a prisoner of destiny. "On the contrary", I said, "it is clear that the leaders of great nations have it in their power to liberate their people from the disaster that impends. It is equally clear that in their own minds and in their own hearts the peoples themselves desire that their fears be ended."

In providing for the health and education of children

for the formation of their minds and characters in ways which are in harmony with the institutions of a free society, democracy is training its future leaders. The safety of democracy therefore depends upon the widespread diffusion of opportunities for developing those qualities of mind and character (which) that are essential to leadership in our modern age. Further, democracy is concerned not only with preparation for leadership, but also with preparation for the discharge of the duties of citizenship in the determination of general policies and the selection of those persons who are to be entrusted with special duties. Beyond this, democracy must inculcate in its children capacities for living and assure opportunities for the fulfillment of those capacities. The success of democratic institutions is measured, not by extent of territory, financial power, machines or armaments, but by the desires, the hopes and the deep-lying satisfactions of the individual men, women and children who make up its citizenship.

Of course, we shall be concerned with ways in which the broad chasm between knowing and doing may be bridged over. We shall be reminding ourselves that all the lectures on nutrition will avail nothing unless there is food for a child to eat; that a law for compulsory school attendance is one thing and a chance to go to school is another. Prenatal instruction cannot assure healthy babies unless the mother has access to good medical and nursing



care when the time for the baby's arrival is at hand. We know how to budget a family's expenditures, we have undertaken to preserve home life for fatherless or motherless children through the joint effort of the Federal Government and the States. We have made great progress in the application of money and service to the promotion of maternal and child health; the restoration of crippled children to normal physical condition; the protection of neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent, especially in rural areas; and the elimination of child labor from industries shipping goods in interstate commerce.

Yet, after all has been said, only a beginning has been made in affording security to children. In many parts of the country we have not provided enough to meet the minimum needs of dependent children for food, and shelter and clothing, and the Federal Government's contribution toward their care is even less generous than its contribution to the care of the aged.

It is not enough, however, to consider what a democratic society must provide. We (must) have to look at our civilization through the eyes of children. If we can state in simple language some of the basic necessities of childhood, we shall see more clearly the issues (which) that challenge our intelligence today.

We make the assumption that a happy child should live in a home where he will find warmth and food and affec-

tion; that his parents will take care of him should he fall ill; that at school he will find the teachers and tools needed for an education; that when he grows up there will be a job for him and that he will some day be able to establish his own home.

As we consider these essentials of a happy childhood our hearts are necessarily heavy with the knowledge that there are many children who cannot make these assumptions.

We are concerned about the children of the unemployed.

We are concerned about other children who are without adequate shelter or food or clothing because of the poverty of their parents.

We are concerned about the children of migratory families who have no settled place of abode or normal community relationships.

We are concerned about the children of minority groups in (our) the population who, confronted with discrimination and prejudice, must find it difficult to believe in the just ordering of life or the ability of the adults in their world to deal with life's problems.

We are concerned about the children living beyond the reach of medical service or lacking medical service because their parents cannot afford to pay for it.

We are concerned about the children who are not in

school or who attend schools poorly equipped to meet their needs.

We are concerned about the children who are outside the reach of religious influences, and are denied help in attaining faith in an ordered universe and in the fatherhood of God.

We are concerned about the future of our democracy when children cannot make the assumptions that mean security and happiness.

And so this Conference and the activities which it initiates furnish an opportunity for us to test ourselves and our institutions by the extent to which they serve our children. I look to you for comprehensive review of the problems (before us,) and suggestions as to practical ways in which we may advance toward our goal.

Many branches of the Federal Government are engaged in the promotion of the health and education and well-being of the Nation's children. You will be asked to consider the points at which these undertakings may be strengthened, and the needs for service which cannot be supplied with the resources that we have at hand. But the attention of this Conference must not be directed to Federal activities alone, or even to joint Federal and State undertakings. It is the local community which is the focal point (for) of all of these programs, after all. Children receive benefits not in Washington but in the



places and the homes where they live.

The men and women within the sound of my voice, as well as you who are assembled at the White House today, are in the larger sense members of this Conference. Recommendations will be brought to us in a final session next year. (It then) That is over a year, over a year's time, to find out what we want to do next. When that time comes I think it will be for all of us to determine the extent to which they will be translated into action. But action we must have. And so, I bid you, the members of the Conference, Godspeed in, this, your high endeavor.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
To the Delegates to the American Red Cross Convention  
Delivered from the South Portico of the White House  
April 25, 1939, 5.00 P. M., E. S. T.

(The President was presented to the delegates by Chairman Davis of the American Red Cross)

CHAIRMAN DAVIS, SENIOR AND JUNIOR DELEGATES TO THE RED CROSS  
CONVENTION:

It gives me the greatest of pleasure to greet  
you here today, here at the White House, this splendid  
National Red Cross assemblage and to give assurance that  
no enterprise is nearer to my heart than the work carried  
on in behalf of all humanity by this superb organization.

As you know, I have had the honor of being the  
President of the Red Cross since 1933 -- but my interest  
in the work dates back to my active participation in the  
Red Cross in the trying days of the World War.

Chairman Davis has spoken of the relationship  
that the President of the United States bears to this  
organization. You may have guessed that in my relation-  
ship to a great many other organizations of the Government  
I am inclined to judge the efficiency of each of those or-  
ganizations by the amount of trouble that they give to me  
and, the more I hear of them and from them, the more I  
know that there is trouble. So, for the last six years I  
can say that my absence from the Red Cross meetings, my  
seeming inattention to Red Cross affairs, proves be-

yond doubt the constant efficiency of the Red Cross. (Applause)

Although ours is a semi-governmental agency, it does draw(s) support from the people as a whole. Designated by Congress as the official, volunteer humanitarian organization of the nation, with specific powers and responsibilities, the Red Cross operates with independence and impartiality. It is universal in its appeal to our citizens because everyone is welcome in its membership; and it is impartial in conferring its benefits.

When there is disaster every agency of the United States Government is directed to cooperate with the Red Cross. Government resources and man power play an important part in aiding and restoring physical damage in communities struck by calamities. But they can never replace the humanitarian handling of the problem(s) itself, the problem of the individual which is the work of the Red Cross itself.

I am especially proud of the improvement that has come during the past few years under our late Chairman Admiral Grayson and our new Chairman, my old friend, Mr. Norman Davis. I refer particularly to the coordination and cooperation (which) that has been worked out recently in times of disaster between the many agencies of the (United States) Government and the American Red Cross (today.)

In floods, in fires (and) in hurricanes, the system of pooling our resources has been brought to a very



high state of efficiency.

In time of local or regional disaster, all (human) agencies -- those of the Federal Government, of state governments and of county and municipal governments know exactly what to do and when to do it. They are organized for instantaneous action. And, as you know, that action proceeds smoothly and without duplication of effort under the (general) direction of the American Red Cross itself. And I remember, when we first tried this out in the great Ohio flood, soon after I came to Washington, I took a rather keen pleasure in putting the Chief of Staff of the Army and the Chief of Operations of the Navy under the Red Cross.

Furthermore, after the emergency of human suffering is cared for other government agencies step in with the systems (of the) that the Red Cross worked out in order to carry on the work of rehabilitation -- physical work and financial aid.

I hope the people of the (Nation) country realize the splendid efficiency of these joint efforts. There is no lost motion, there is no waste of emergency or relief funds -- and I (believe) think that no country in all the world has reached the standards which the United States has achieved in this respect in the past few years.

The strength of our (splendid) organization is in its appeal to the tenderest sympathies of (all) our people. It embraces in its membership all races and creeds

and it knows no politics. There is nothing narrow or sectional about it. All of our people find unity in one great objective, the relief of human suffering.

Happily, too, the Red Cross appeals both to (adults) the older people and to our young people. Through the Junior Red Cross, nine million boys and girls are being brought up in the tradition of service to others. The foundation being laid for these boys and girls (in the Junior Red Cross), which has for its motto "I serve" may well be an important factor in the future welfare of our nation.

In its fifty-eight years of existence the American Red Cross has also been exceptionally generous and active in extending a helping hand to our distressed neighbors. Within the past twelve months, for instance, not only have our resources of money and our resources of volunteer help been strained to the utmost in meeting disaster relief needs, such as (in) the New England hurricane where great loss of life and property was suffered -- but also in generous contributions to distressed civilians in China, in Spain, in aiding the refugees in France, and in Chile where earthquakes took an appalling toll of life and left thousands of injured to be cared for.

So the spirit of the Red Cross does not wane. In a world disturbed by war and fear of war the unselfish devotion of the Red Cross to the welfare of others stands

out in striking contrast to inhumane acts (which) that  
have shocked our conscience in so many instances.

Yes, the task before us is enormous. Our work,  
by reason of its very nature, (never) is never done.  
Our work never can be done while human misery exists.

(The) That work must go bravely on. You are  
carrying out and you are improving on a great tradition.

We shall not fail because we know that all of  
America has been with us, is with us, and is going to be  
with us in the days to come.



ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered at the Opening of the New York World's Fair, 1939  
April 30, 1939, 2.30 P. M., D. S. T.

GOVERNOR LEHMAN, MAYOR LaGUARDIA, PRESIDENT GROVER WHALEN,  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have seen only a small fraction of the Fair  
but even from what I have seen, I am able to congratulate  
all of you who conceived the Fair and planned the Fair  
and all you men and women who built the Fair.

From henceforth in our history the thirtieth day of April will have a dual significance -- the Inauguration of the First President of the United States, (thus beginning) which began the Executive Branch of the (Federal) Government, and now the opening of the New York World's Fair of 1939.

Today, also, the cycle of sesquicentennial commemorations is complete. Two years ago, in Philadelphia and (in) other communities, was celebrated the Constitutional Convention of 1787, (which) that convention that gave (to) us the form of government under which we have lived ever since. Last year (was) we celebrated in many (states) places throughout the country the ratification of the Constitution by the Original Thirteen States. On March fourth of this year the first meeting of the First Congress was commemorated at a distinguished gathering in the House of Representatives in the National Capitol. And,

two weeks ago, on April fourteenth, I went to Mount Vernon with (the) my Cabinet in memory of that day, exactly (one) a hundred and fifty years before, when General Washington was formally notified of his election as (First) President.

As you remember, two days later he left (the) that home he loved so well and proceeded by easy stages to New York, greeted with triumphal arches and flower-strewn streets in the large communities through which he passed on his way to (New York) this City. Fortunately, there have been preserved for us many generations later accounts of his taking of the oath of office on April thirtieth on the balcony of the old Federal Hall. In a scene of republican simplicity and surrounded by the great men of the time, most of whom had served with him in the cause of independence throughout the Revolution, the oath was administered to him by the Chancellor of the State of New York, Robert R. Livingston. And so we, in New York, have a very personal connection with that thirtieth of April, one hundred and fifty years ago.

The permanent government of the United States had become a fact. The period of Revolution and the critical days that followed were over. The long future lay ahead.

In the framework of Government which had been devised, and in the early days, the early years of its administration, it is of enormous significance to us today

that those early leaders successfully planned for such use of the Constitution as would fit (it) the Constitution to a constantly expanding nation. That the original framework was capable of expansion from its application to Thirteen States with less than four million people, to its newer application to forty-eight States with more than one hundred and thirty million people that is the best tribute to the vision of the Fathers. In this it stands unique in the whole history of all the world, (for) because no other form of government has remained unchanged so long and has seen, at the same time, any comparable expansion of population or of area.

And it is significant that the astounding changes and advances in almost every phase of human life have made necessary so relatively few changes in the Constitution itself. All of the earlier Amendments may be accepted by us as a part of the original Constitution because (the) that sacred Bill of Rights, which guaranteed and has maintained personal liberty through freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion (and similar essentials of democracy,) and freedom of assembly, was already popularly accepted by the inhabitants of thirteen States while the Constitution itself was in the process of ratification.

There followed the Amendments which put an end to the practice of human slavery and a number of later



Amendments (which) that made our practice of government more direct, including, as we are glad, the extension of the franchise to the women of the nation. (It is well to note) And we remember also that the only restrictive Amendment which deliberately took away one form of wholly personal liberty was, after a trial, an unhappy trial, of a few years, overwhelmingly repealed.

Once only has the permanence of the Constitution been threatened -- (it was) threatened by an internal war brought about principally by the very fact of the expansion of American civilization across the Continent -- a threat (which) that resulted eventually and happily in a closer union than ever before.

And of these later years -- these very recent years, (indeed) -- the history books of the next generation will set it forth that sectionalism and regional jealousies have diminished. (and that) The people of every part of our land have acquired a national solidarity of economic and social thought such as (had) we have never (been) seen before.

That this has been accomplished, that it has been done, has been due first to our form of government itself and, secondly, to a spirit of wise tolerance which, with few exceptions, has been (the) our American rule. We in the United States, and, indeed, in all the Americas, North America, Central America and South America, we remember

that our population stems from many races and kindreds and tongues. Often, I think, we Americans offer up (the) a silent prayer that on the Continent of Europe, from which the American Hemisphere was principally colonized, the years to come will break down many barriers (of) to intercourse between nations -- barriers which may be historic, but which so greatly, through all the centuries, have led to strife and have hindered friendship and normal intercourse.

The United States stands today as a completely homogeneous nation, similar in its civilization from Coast to Coast and from North to South, united in a common purpose to work for the greatest good of the greatest number, united in the desire to move forward to better things in the use of its great resources of nature and its even greater resources of intelligent, educated manhood and womanhood -- (and) united in its desire to encourage peace and good-will among all the nations of the (world) earth.

Born of that unity of purpose, that knowledge of strength, that singleness of ideal, two great Expositions, one at each end of (the) our Continent, mark this year in which we live. And it is fitting that they commemorate the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the birth of our permanent government.

Opened two months ago, the Exposition on the magic island in San Francisco Bay presents to visitors from

all the world a view of the amazing development of our own Far West and of (the) our neighbors of the American Continent and the nations of the (Isles of the) Pacific and its Isles.

Here at the New York World's Fair of 1939 many nations are also represented -- indeed most, the overwhelming majority of all the nations of the world -- and the theme is "The World of Tomorrow."

This general, and I might almost say spontaneous participation by other countries, is a gesture of friendship and good-will toward the United States for which I render most grateful thanks. It is not through the physical exhibits alone that this gesture has manifested itself. The magic of modern communications makes possible a continuing participation by word of mouth itself. Already, on Sunday afternoon radio programs, no fewer than seventeen foreign nations have shown their good-will to this country since the first of January this year.

In many instances the Chiefs of State (in the countries taking) of these nations, these nations which have taken part in the programs have spoken and in every case the principal speaker has extended greetings to the President of the United States. And so in this place and at this time, as we open (this) the New York World's Fair, I desire to thank all of them and to assure them that we, as a nation, heartily reciprocate all of their cordial



sentiments.

All who come to this World's Fair in New York and to the Exposition in San Francisco will, I need not tell them receive the heartiest of welcomes. They will find that the eyes of the United States are fixed on the future. Yes, our wagon is still hitched to a star.

But it is a star of (good-will) friendship, a star of progress for mankind, a star of greater happiness and less hardship, a star of international good-will, and, above all, a star of peace.

May the months to come carry us forward in the rays of that eternal hope.

And so, my friends, the time has come for me to announce with solemnity, perhaps, but with great happiness, a fact: I hereby dedicate the World's Fair, the New York World's Fair of 1939 and I declare it open to all mankind.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Dedicating the new Federal Post Office Building  
Rhinebeck, New York  
May 1, 1939 (about 3.45 P. M., D. S. T.)

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESSES, MR. SECRETARY, MR. POSTMASTER  
GENERAL, YOU MY OLD FRIENDS AND MY NEIGHBORS OF (THE  
TOWN OF) RHINEBECK:

Half a century ago -- I do not feel that it was  
that long, but half a century ago -- a small boy was often  
driven through the town of Rhinebeck by his Father and  
Mother to visit his great-uncle and aunt at their home  
south of Barrytown. On (these) those drives up the Post  
Road, which, as I remember, were always either dusty or  
muddy, he passed a number of old stone houses, most of them  
with long, sloping roofs, and he was told that they had  
been built by the early settlers nearly two centuries  
before.

And then, as I grew older, I came to know some-  
thing of the history of these river towns of Dutchess  
County, and to develop a great liking for the stone archi-  
tecture which was indigenous to (the Hudson) our Valley.

We call it by the generic name of "early Dutch  
Colonial" even though some of the houses, as in this  
neighborhood, were built by German settlers from the Pala-  
tinate.

Because through one line of my ancestry I am  
descended from the early Beekmans (who settled Rhinebeck)

and because on the Roosevelt side my great-great-grandfather lived in Rhinebeck for sometime during the period of the Revolution and was not only a member of the State Senate, as his great-great-grandson was, but also a member of the Dutchess County Militia, and so I have a claim to kinship with this town that is second only to the town of Hyde Park.

And, by the way, the Postmaster General will, I think, sustain me if I pin a medal on myself. Two years ago, under the Congressional appropriation, one Post Office was allocated to Dutchess County. The Postmaster General asked me if I did not want the new building located in the village of Hyde Park, where (we most certainly) heaven only knows, we very badly need a Post Office building. But I told him that Rhinebeck was in equal need of one and that because Rhinebeck was twice the size of Hyde Park, it should be served first. I gave notice, however, at that time that my unselfishness is coming to a limit, and that if I get another chance to choose a Dutchess County site my own townspeople's complaint will receive sympathetic attention. And so, I am hereby putting (the Postmaster General and the Secretary of the Treasury on notice) him on notice that if we are to get any more money from Congress for Dutchess County, the Postmaster General and the Secretary of the Treasury, if they want to keep their jobs, must locate it in Hyde Park.



You all know the inspiration for the design of the building that we are (dedicate) dedicating today. Fortunately I am old enough to remember the old house on the River Road in which were entertained so many famous men before, and during and after the Revolutionary War. That we have been able to copy the original part of it is a fortunate thing; and we are grateful, too, that we have been able to incorporate much of (its) the original stone in the original Beekman house in (these) the front walls of (the new) this Post Office. Soon, too, the old corner-stone will be on display in the lobby, together with the famous pane of glass most of which has been given by Mrs. Suckley, (and) the famous glass which was rescued from the fire by Colonel John Jacob Astor.

And, furthermore, within a short time, a most interesting (frieze) painting, a frieze around the inside of the lobby, painted by Mr. Olin Dows, (will grace the lobby) is going to grace this building.

And it is, I think, an interesting fact that during the past few years the (Federal) Government, in the designing of Post Office buildings, has been getting away from the sameness of pattern (which) that characterized the past. I am glad that the Secretary of the Treasury has described to you the method by which new Government Buildings are being designed. The Procurement Division of the Treasury has sought to diversify design so that

our newer Post Offices all over the country will (do) not look as they did before as though they had been turned out by the dozen.

We are seeking to follow the type of architecture which is good, first in the sense that it does not of necessity follow the whims of the moment but seeks an artistry (which will) that ought to be good, as far as we can tell, for all time to come. And we are trying to adapt the design to the historical background of the locality and to use, insofar as possible, the materials (which) that are indigenous to the locality itself. Hence, fieldstone for Dutchess County. Hence, (my) the efforts during the past few years in Federal Buildings in the Hudson River Valley to use fieldstone and to copy the early Dutch architecture which was so essentially sound besides being very attractive to the eye.

May I make a suggestion as a neighbor of yours, to you, my neighbors of Rhinebeck? At this crossroads, this very historic crossroads, of the village we now have the new Post Office, (the old) the famous, the nation-wide famous Beekman Arms Inn, and just beyond it on the north-west corner that fine (the) old stone building, so substantially built that it will last for all time to come. (on the upper corner.) And yet as time goes on some of the other buildings on the other side of the street, (and on this side will) shall we say may have to be re-

placed by new buildings. Now, these (other) buildings are substantial enough but they are set (too) rather close to the street and they represent a (type) style of architecture that is not being copied much today, a style (known as) that was followed by architects for years but one which we now rather smile at as we label it Victorian. (which is not exactly in keeping with what we now call "good taste.")

(When replacements occur, as they undoubtedly will in the years to come, I hope that new buildings will be set further back from the street, that they will conform more to the Colonial type and that you in Rhinebeck will have here what in effect would be a large open Square admired for its beauty by all who pass.)

And so, when replacements are made, I hope that the new buildings may be set back by -- what shall we say? -- not by law but by community opinion, set back so that you in Rhinebeck will have what, in effect, will be a large open square, admired for its beauty by the many thousands who pass this way.

A happy coincidence brings to us today a unique opportunity. The corner-stone at this Rhinebeck's new Post Office is about to be laid as a part of this ceremony of dedication. The Post Office has been built by the Secretary of the Treasury, who is with us. It has been turned over to the Postmaster General, who will use it and who is also (is) with us. Their Royal Highnesses, The Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Denmark and Iceland have come to us, having voyaged from Denmark through the



Panama Canal to San Francisco and (crossed) back across the Continent. They have, I am glad to say, had an opportunity to see a large part of the United States and I need not tell them that they are very welcome.

(I am about to) In a minute I will present them to you, but in the meantime I am glad to tell you that (and) His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, has graciously consented to wield the trowel and formally lay the cornerstone of this building of which we are all so proud.

And during all the years to come -- during the long life in spite of what the Postmaster General says -- the long life, a couple of hundred years (which) that lies ahead of this, our new Post Office, generations who will live here will always remember that the corner-stone was laid by our distinguished guest.

(Ladies and Gentlemen) And so I present to you Their Royal Highnesses, the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess of Denmark and Iceland. (Prolonged applause)

(The Crown Prince used the trowel on the cornerstone and, upon the completion of this ceremony the President said:

"I now announce this very historic corner-stone has been well and truly laid and also that His Royal Highness is an honorary member of the Union, in good standing".)

May 10, 1939

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House on the occasion of the dedication of the new building of the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:46 P.M., E.S.T., May 10, 1939.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER, FRIENDS OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART:

When men dedicate a new edifice for a common enterprise they are at once celebrating an achievement and announcing a purpose. They cannot refrain nor could they properly be excused from making clear what that purpose is.

From all that has been said by the speakers to whom we have been listening tonight the mission of this Museum is plain. We are dedicating this building to the cause of peace and to the pursuits of peace. The arts that ennoble and refine life flourish only in the atmosphere of peace. And in this hour of dedication we are glad again to bear witness before all the world to our faith in the sanctity of free institutions. For we know that only where men are free can the arts flourish and the civilization of national culture reach full flower.

The arts cannot thrive except where men are free to be themselves and to be in charge of the discipline of their own energies and ardors. The conditions for democracy and for art are one and the same. What we call liberty in politics results in freedom in the arts. There can be no vitality in the works gathered in a museum unless there exists the right of spontaneous life in the society in which the arts are nourished.

A world turned into a stereotype, a society converted into a regiment, a life translated into a routine, make it difficult for either art or artists to survive. Crush individuality in society and you crush art as well. Nourish the conditions of a free life and you nourish the arts, too.

In encouraging the creation and enjoyment of beautiful things we are furthering democracy itself. That is why this Museum is a citadel of civilization.

As the Museum of Modern Art is a living museum, not a collection of curious and interesting objects, it can, therefore, become an integral part of our democratic institutions -- it can be woven into the very warp and woof of our democracy. Because it has been conceived as a national institution the Museum can enrich and invigorate our cultural life by bringing the best of modern art to all of the American people. This, I am gratified to learn, will be done through the traveling exhibitions of the Museum.

It is most important that the Museum make these traveling exhibits an essential part of its work. By this means the gap between the artists and American industry, and the great American public, can be bridged. And most important of all, the standards of American taste will inevitably be raised by thus bringing into far-flung communities results of the latest and finest achievements in all the arts.

These traveling exhibits will extend the perspective of the general public which too often has been accustomed to think of the fine arts as painting, and possibly sculpture. But the proposed traveling exhibitions and nationwide shows will make all of our people increasingly aware of the enormous importance of contemporary industrial design, architecture, including the great social art -- housing -- which by its very nature is one of the most formidable challenges to a democracy, as well as photography, the printed book, the illustration, the advertisement, the poster, the theatre, and the moving picture. Thus, a nationwide public will receive a demonstration of the force and scope of all these branches of the visual arts.

Art in America has always belonged to the people and has never been the property of an academy or a class. The great Treasury Projects, through which our public buildings are being decorated, are an excellent example of the continuity of this tradition. The Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration is a practical relief project which also emphasizes the best tradition of the democratic spirit. The WPA artist, in rendering his own impression of things, speaks also for the spirit of his fellow countrymen everywhere. I think the WPA artist exemplifies with great force the essential place which the arts have in a democratic society such as ours.

In the future we must seek more widespread popular understanding and appreciation of the arts. Many of our great cities provide the facilities for such appreciation. But we all know that because of their lack of size and riches the smaller communities are in most cases denied this opportunity. That is why I give special emphasis to the need of giving these smaller communities the visual chance to get to know modern art.

As in our democracy we enjoy the right to believe in different religious creeds or in none, so can American artists express themselves with complete freedom from the strictures of dead artistic tradition or political ideology. While American artists have discovered a new obligation to the society in which they live, they have no compulsion to be limited in method or manner of expression.

The opportunity before the Museum of Modern Art is as broad as the whole United States. I trust that the fine example which this institution is affording will be widely copied and that the good work will continue until the influence of the best and the noblest in the fine arts permeates every community in the land.

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June 8, 1939

CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

1291

CAUTION: The following text of remarks made by the President in proposing a toast to His Majesty, King George VI, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets not earlier than 8:00 P.M., E.S.T., Thursday, June 8, 1939.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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Your Majesties:

In the life of a nation, as in that of an individual, there are occasions that stand out in high relief. Such an occasion is the present one, when the entire United States is welcoming on its soil the King and Queen of Great Britain, of our neighbor Canada, and of all the far-flung British Commonwealth of Nations. It is an occasion for festivities, but it is also fitting that we give thanks for the bonds of friendship that link our two peoples.

I am persuaded that the greatest single contribution our two countries have been enabled to make to civilization, and to the welfare of peoples throughout the world, is the example we have jointly set by our manner of conducting relations between our two nations.

It is because each nation is lacking in fear of the other that we have unfortified borders between us. It is because neither of us fears aggression on the part of the other that we have entered no race of armaments, the one against the other.

The King and I are aware of a recent episode. Two small uninhabited Islands in the center of the Pacific became of sudden interest to the British Empire and to the United States as stepping stones for commercial airplanes between America and Australasia. Both nations claimed sovereignty. Both nations had good cases. To have entered into a long drawn out argument could have meant ill-will between us and delay in the use of the Islands by either nation. It was suggested that the problem be solved by the joint use of both Islands by both nations, and, by a gentleman's agreement, to defer the question of ultimate sovereignty until the year 1989. The passage of 50 years will solve many problems.

If this illustration of the use of methods of peace, divorced from aggression, could only be universally followed, relations between all countries would rest upon a sure foundation, and men and women everywhere could once more look upon a happy, a prosperous and a peaceful world.

May this kind of understanding between our countries grow ever closer, and may our friendship prosper. Ladies and gentlemen, we drink to the health of His Majesty, King George VI.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At the Graduation Exercises  
of the United States Military Academy  
West Point, New York  
June 12, 1939, 11.48 A.M.

(MR.) SUPERINTENDENT BENEDICT, FELLOW OFFICERS, MEMBERS OF THE CLASS  
OF 1939:

I take pleasure in greeting you as colleagues in the service of the United States. You will find, as I have, that that service never ends -- in the sense that it engages the best of your ability and the best of your imagination in the endless adventure of keeping the United States safe, strong and at peace.

You will find that the technique you acquired can be used in many ways for your country, for the Army of the United States has a record of achievement in peace as well as in war. It is a little-appreciated fact that its constructive activities have saved more lives through its peace time work and have created more wealth and well-being through its technical operations, than it has destroyed during its wars, hard-fought and victorious though they have been, and that's something to remember.

With us the Army does not stand for aggression, or domination, or fear. It has become a corps d'elite of highly trained men whose talent is great technical skill, whose training is highly cooperative, and whose capacity is used to defend the country with force when affairs require that force be used.

But it has also been made available to organize, to assist, and to construct, when battles have to be waged against the more impersonal foes, the impersonal foes of disaster, disease, or distress.

(This) That is sound Army work too; for the military strength of a country can be no greater than its internal economic and moral solidarity, and the task of national defense must concern itself with civilian problems at home, quite as much as with armed forces in the field.

The alteration of economic life in (the) this past generation has almost completely changed the task which you assume today. Your predecessors, commissioned Second Lieutenants as short a time back as ten years ago, would find many of your problems unfamiliar.

For technical developments have transformed methods of warfare. They have required revision of tables of organization of armies, as aviation, motorization and mechanization have (become) become the military necessities of the day. The individual fighting plane of yesterday, of the World War period, has been supplanted by the cohesive squadron; the motor vehicle rumbles where once trod the weary feet of marching men; the infantry tank and cavalry combat car clatter where formerly the dismounted soldier engaged in personal combat.

Yes, the machine age has laid its (iron) grip upon the world's armies heavily; and technical developments have demanded the modernization of our military establishments, a program which has been prosecuted vigorously during the past six years. During recent months international political considerations have required still greater emphasis upon the vitalization of our defense, for we have had dramatic illustrations of the fate of undefended nations. I hardly need to be more specific than that. We seek peace by honorable and pacific conduct of our international relations; but that



desire for peace must never, will never be mistaken for weakness on the part of the United States.

Yet experts tell us that though technical change has transformed modern warfare, the coming of the machine does not mean that we shall ever have a robot war, a robot war from which the primary human elements, courage, heroism, intelligence and morale will have departed. So far from submerging men, the modern developments emphasize (their) the responsibilities of man.

Recent conflicts in Europe, the Far East and Africa bear witness to the fact that the individual soldier remains still the controlling factor. The tactics of the future intensify, rather than diminish, the necessity for high qualities of individual leadership. The object of developing aviation, motorization, and mechanization is to attain the highest possible degree of mobility.

And for us especially this is essential; the vast expanse of territory of a nation as large as the United States renders economically impracticable the maintenance of fixed defensive installations at all vital strategic centers, even were these desirable as a matter of military policy. Yet this greater mobility in turn means that units, whether platoon, or regiment, or division, may be widely dispersed -- the units being broken down to the point where the individual is "on his own."

During campaigns units are increasingly scattered, as we know; in actual battle, they may be widely apart. The strain upon those (in) who command (of) the individual units calls for qualities of leadership perhaps never before required in military history. Though the day of the individual champion may have passed into history, the day of the

leader of small and large units is still young.

Yes, and leadership has meaning only as it brings about cooperation. When men are working upon a great problem, but must work by themselves, or in small groups without close contact, there is danger that they may not pull in the same direction. Cooperation, therefore, means discipline, not the meticulous though unthinking obedience to guardroom technique alone, nor blind mass cooperation of a Macedonian phalanx or the close order attack. Discipline is the well-tempered working together of many minds and wills, each preserving independent judgment, but all prepared to sink individual differences and egotisms to attain an objective (which) that is accepted and understood. When men are taken far apart by mechanics and specialization, teamwork is far more essential than when they are close together; the work (for it) must be teamwork of the mind as well as of the body.

Some of you, no doubt, in fullness of time will find yourselves with responsibilities even greater than those of bringing about the cooperation of military units. When the supreme test of war comes -- and I hope it never will -- an army, to be effective, must command the cooperation of others, the cooperation of all elements in national life. The men then charged with the national defense, from the Commander in Chief, in his capacity as Commander in Chief, and the same man in his capacity as President of the United States, down to the youngest Second Lieutenant in the Army, and down to the most recently recruited private, they must be able to bring into harmonious action the civilian instruments of production, (and) of transport, and of finance; they must deal with labor, with industry, with management, with agriculture, and with costs.

To do (this) that requires sympathetic knowledge of how other men's minds work and of processes by which non-military life operates. There is no greater quality of discipline than the ability to recognize different techniques and different processes, and by persuasion and reason to bring these divergent forces into fruitful cooperation.

You have seen the problem in its smaller aspects here at West Point; let me commend to you in your Army careers a continuous study of problems outside as well as inside the military field, as the necessary preparation for the greatest success in your chosen work.

These qualities of cooperation, discipline and the self-restraint and self-reliance (which) that make them useful, they are the very fabric of modern life. If it can be developed internationally as well as nationally, we shall be materially nearer to a realization of our hopes (of) for peace.

Recently (we have) our Nation has had the pleasure of a visit from King George VI, as a courteous recognition of the cordiality and the good will (which) that prevails between two great nations. Its significance lay in the fact that friendship could exist between the two countries (since) because both nations were without fear. Without fear of any act of aggression of the one against the other. To achieve that result, strength is needed: Strength which comes, not from arms alone, but from restraint, from understanding and from cooperation which in turn are the product of trained and disciplined minds.

I am very sure the lessons you have learned at West Point



will be of use in peace, no less than war; and that in you the Nation will take the same pride, maintain the same confidence, as, through all the generations the Nation (it) has held for the officers of the Armies of the United States.

Gentlemen of the Graduating Class, I congratulate you upon the finishing of your course at the Military Academy, and I wish for you in the days to come all the good luck in the world.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
In behalf of the 1939 Mobilization for Human Needs  
Delivered from the White House  
October 9, 1939, 10.30 P. M., E. S. T.

CHAIRMAN TAFT, COMMUNITY CHEST WORKERS, FRIENDS OF  
HUMAN NEEDS:

Tonight (our) my appeal is to the compassionate heart of the American people.

As we look out (up)on a world, unhappily torn by war with all of its attendant horrors of death and destruction, we must remember that no matter how broad our sympathies, (that) our charity begins at home. I like the ringing challenge in that militant designation: Mobilization for Human Needs. It is a call for each and every one of us to enlist in the nationwide campaign to extend a helping hand to all (who) suffering privation or want within our borders.

We must work, each of us in our own neighborhood, to support the local community chests.

These community chests, with their special responsibility to bring cheer and comfort to individual(s) (and) families who have been made desolate by want and poverty, constitute, in a very special way, our home front -- and our home front must be defended at all hazards. Let us, as we sit in our homes tonight, give thought to some of our less fortunate fellow Americans who live in homes less cheerful than ours, homes often on the border line of

(squalor) poverty, misery and privation. And let us not forget that it is just as important to keep the lamp of hope burning in our more humble homes as it is to maintain the elaborate establishments in which abundance and even luxury are the rule.

It is the survival of the old spirit (of) that the home (that) must be guaranteed. For the family still remains the basis of society as we know it, and it must be preserved as an institution if our democracy (as we have always understood it) is to be perpetuated. If we lose the home we are in grave risk of undermining all those other elements of stability and strength which contribute to the well-being of our national life.

And, best of all, our work as good neighbors through our community chests does not overlap either federal or local government relief work. It is well (always) for us all to keep in mind and to emphasize again and again that the proper function of the Community Chest is to extend local or community relief.

Under the Federal Security Agency, which was set up only a few months ago, certain services have been organized for certain needs of the men, women and children of the United States. There is also provision for work relief through the Work Projects Administration, familiar to all of us as the W. P. A.

This is not the time nor the place to go into



details concerning the functions of these various federal agencies. I have referred to them because we must bear in mind constantly that the Mobilization for Human Needs, (working through the various community chests) which we are starting in all parts of the country, has a separate and distinct field of service.

I desire, therefore, once more to (reiterate) repeat that direct relief and work relief are separate and distinct means of attacking separate and distinct problems. Direct relief is aimed at many problems of human misfortune -- in short, the adjustment of maladjusted families, the tiding over of temporary crises in family life and the support of character building organizations. That is the mission of the Community Chest. On the other hand, work relief, as authorized by the Congress, attacks the problem of getting jobs for able-bodied persons who can give useful work in return for what they receive. It is aimed at the adjustment of maladjusted society.

I am reiterating all this because to my mind we must let nothing obscure our vision of the field which is the natural sphere of the community chests. To repeat, the community chests are a vital sector in our home front. And I am sure the Mobilization for Human Needs accepts for every community the national policy (of) for relief as outlined by the Congress while devoting all of its energies to the local problems which are its primary responsibility.

The challenge is to relieve individual distress no matter where it is found. One hundred percent support of the community chest will greatly diminish want and suffering in every community in the land. To bring about that happy consummation, I appeal to the heart and the soul, I appeal to the conscience and I appeal to every generous impulse of the American people.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered to the Postmasters  
From the South Portico of the White House  
October 11, 1939, 4.35 P. M., E. S. T.

(The Postmaster General introduced the audience to the President as follows:

"It is my very great privilege to present to you approximately four thousand postmasters, who are gathered here in Washington from every state in the Union and several of the Territories.")

MR. POSTMASTER GENERAL, POSTMASTERS (LADIES), POSTMISTRESSES  
AND FRIENDS OF THE POSTAL SERVICE:

You know, when Jim Farley holds a convention, it is always a successful convention. (Applause)

It is a privilege and a pleasure to greet you (here) at the White House this afternoon.

To you, and through you, to all the postmasters of the (country) nation I want to express my heartfelt appreciation of all that you and they are doing to maintain our great postal system as the efficient institution that it has become under the able direction of our Postmaster General, (applause) your friend and mine. (Applause) Today we may all share in the pride which by every right and token (should) ought to thrill Jim Farley's kindly heart. He is doing a grand job and each one of you is contributing to it.

I am glad you are here in such goodly numbers



(for) because you represent, literally, the nation's biggest business. (Applause) The vast extent of the enterprise of which you are a part can best be measured if we pause to sum up the work.

The collection and dispatch of letters is only one aspect of your work. Our postal service, be it remembered, also comprises our largest savings bank, our largest express business, our largest system for the transmission of money, as well as the largest agency available to the people for the investment of their savings in government bonds.

The temptation would be strong, if I had the time (permitted,) to examine the fascinating and romantic story of the postal service, not only the background of its marvelous development in our own country; but its first beginnings back in the dawn of man's history.

We do not know when the first postal service came into being but we do know that some twenty-five centuries ago an old writer by the name of Herodotus stated an ideal which is still exemplified by Jim Farley's cohorts, it was: "Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stays these couriers from swift completion of their appointed rounds."

It matters not what the means of transportation of the mails may be -- whether the mules and camels of the Old Testament which Job said made his days "swifter than a

post" -- or those modern annihilators of distance, the train, the automobile and the airplane.

The mission of the postal service was admirably stated many years ago when two famous educators collaborated in interpreting the work (which) that you are doing. Because I think each of you will carry home a clearer conception of your duties as postmasters if you accept their interpretation, I give you the words of Charles W. Eliot who was President of Harvard and President Woodrow Wilson, who had been President of Princeton. Their words, which you will find inscribed on the facade of our own central Post Office here in Washington:

One of them said "Messenger of sympathy and love - servant of parted friends - consoler of the lonely - bond of the scattered family - enlarger of the common life."

The other said "Carrier of news and knowledge - instrument of trade and industry - promoter of mutual acquaintance, of peace and good will among men and nations."

(It is wonderful to see you all here) And so, my friends, let me say that I am very happy to see all of you here today and to have (an) this opportunity to say hello, even though I cannot have the privilege or the time to shake you all by the hand. I hope your stay in Washington is a pleasant one and that you will carry back home bright memories of (the) this successful convention which has brought you here. (Applause)

FOR THE PRESS

HOLD FOR RELEASE

OCTOBER 17, 1939

The following statement of the President on opening the meeting of the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee, at the White House, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the street NOT EARLIER than 1:00 P. M., E.S.T., October 17, 1939.

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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I am glad to welcome at the White House Lord Winterton, the Chairman; Sir Herbert Emerson, the Director; Mr. Myron Taylor, the Vice-Chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee representing the United States of America, the heads of missions of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, France and the Netherlands; and Mr. James G. McDonald, the Chairman of my Advisory Committee on Political Refugees.

I extend through you to the thirty-two Governments participating in the Intergovernmental Committee and to the private refugee organizations my appreciation for the assistance which has been given to refugees in the period since the meeting at Evian. I hope the work will be carried on with redoubled vigor, and with more positive results.

In March, 1938 it became clear to the world that a point had been reached where private agencies alone could no longer deal with the masses of unfortunate people who had been driven from their homes. These men, women and children were beating at the gate of any nation which seemed to offer them a haven.

Most of these fellow human beings belonged to the Jewish Race, though many thousands of them belonged to other races and other creeds. The flight from their countries of origin meant chaos for them and great difficulties for other nations which for other reasons -- chiefly economic -- had erected barriers against immigration. Many portions of the world which in earlier years provided areas for immigration had found it necessary to close the doors.

Therefore, a year and a half ago I took the initiative by asking thirty-two governments to cooperate with the Government of the United States in seeking a long range solution of the refugee problem. Because the United States through more than three centuries has been built in great measure by people whose dreams in other lands had been thwarted, it seemed appropriate for us to make possible the meeting at Evian, which was attended by Mr. Myron C. Taylor as my personal representative.



That meeting made permanent the present Intergovernmental Committee, and since that time this Intergovernmental Committee has greatly helped in the settling of many refugees, in providing temporary refuge for thousands of others and in making important studies toward opening up new places of final settlement in many parts of the world.

I am glad to be able to announce today that active steps have been taken to begin actual settlement, made possible by the generous attitude of the Dominican Government and the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth. This is, I hope, the forerunner of many other similar projects in other nations.

Furthermore, I am glad to note the establishment of a distinguished Anglo-American group of the Coordinating Foundation, which with the help of your Committee will investigate the suitability of other places of settlement for immigrants.

Things were going well, although I must confess slowly, up to the outbreak of the war in Europe. Today we must recognize that the regular and planned course of refugee work has been of necessity seriously interrupted.

The war means two things.

First, the current work must not be abandoned: It must be redirected. We have with us the problem of helping those individuals and families who are at this moment in countries of refuge and who for the sake of the world and themselves can best be placed in permanent domiciles during the actual course of the war without confusing their lot with the lot of those who in increasing numbers will suffer as a result of the war itself.

That I may call the short range program, and it presents a problem of comparatively small magnitude. In a moment you will see why I say, "comparatively small magnitude." At this moment there are probably not more than two or three hundred thousand refugees who are in dire need and who must as quickly as possible be given opportunity to settle in other countries where they can make permanent homes.

This is by no means an insoluble task, but it means hard work for all of us from now on -- and not only hard work but a conscientious effort to clear the decks of an old problem -- an existing problem, before the world as a whole is confronted with the new problem involving infinitely more human beings, which will confront us when the present war is over. This last is not a cheerful prospect, but it will be the almost inevitable result of present conflicts.

That is why I specifically urge that this Intergovernmental Committee redouble its efforts. I realize, of course, that Great Britain and France, engaged as they are in a major war, can be asked by those nations which are neutral to do little more than to give a continuance of their sympathy and interest in these days which are so difficult for them. That means that upon the neutral nations there lies an obligation to humanity to carry on the work.

I have suggested that the current task is small in comparison with the future task. The war will come to an end some day; and those of us who are realists know that in its wake the world will face a refugee problem of different character and of infinitely greater magnitude.

Nearly every great war leaves behind it vast numbers of human beings whose roots have been literally torn up. Inevitably there are great numbers of individuals who have lost all family ties -- individuals who find no home to return to, no occupation to resume -- individuals who for many different reasons must seek to rebuild their lives under new environments.

Every war leaves behind it tens of thousands of families who for very many different reasons are compelled to start life anew in other lands.

Economic considerations may affect thousands of families and individuals.

All we can do is to estimate on the reasonable doctrine of chances, that when this ghastly war ends there may be not one million but ten million or twenty million men, women and children belonging to many races and many religions, living in many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into the wide picture -- the problem of the human refugee.

I ask, therefore, that as the second great task that lies before this Committee, it start at this time a serious and probably a fairly expansive effort to survey and study definitely and scientifically this geographical and economic problem of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface.

We have been working, up to now, on too small a scale, and we have failed to apply modern engineering to our task. We know already that there are many comparatively vacant spaces on the earth's surface where from the point of view of climate and natural resources European settlers can live permanently.

Some of these lands have no means of access; some of them require irrigation; most of them require soil and health surveys; all of them present in the process of settlement, economic problems which must be tied in with the economy of existing settled areas.

The possible field of new settlements covers many portions of the African, American and Australasian portions of the globe. It covers millions of square miles situated in comparatively young republics and in colonial possessions or dominions of older nations.

Most of these territories which are inherently susceptible of colonization by those who perforce seek new homes, cannot be developed without at least two or three years of engineering and economic studies. It is neither wise nor fair to send any colonists to them until the engineering and economic surveys have resulted in practical and definite plans.



We hope and we trust that existing wars will terminate quickly; and if that is our hope there is all the more reason for all of us to make ready, beginning today, for the solution of the problem of the refugee. The quicker we begin the undertaking and the quicker we bring it to a reasonable decision, the quicker will we be able to say that we can contribute something to the establishment of world peace.

Gentlemen, that is a challenge to the Intergovernmental Committee -- it is a duty because of the pressure of need -- it is an opportunity because it gives a chance to take part in the building of new communities for those who need them. Out of the dregs of present disaster we can distill some real achievements in human progress.

This problem involves no one race group -- no one religious faith. It is the problem of all groups and all faiths. It is not enough to indulge in horrified humanitarianism, empty resolutions, golden rhetoric and pious words. We must face it actively if the democratic principle based on respect and human dignity is to survive -- if world order, which rests on security of the individual, is to be restored.

Remembering the words written on the Statue of Liberty, let us lift a lamp beside new golden doors and build new refuges for the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
To the New York Herald Tribune Forum  
Delivered from the White House  
October 26, 1939, 11:05 P. M., E. S. T.

MRS. REED, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HERALD TRIBUNE  
FORUM:

I am glad to say a word in this forum because I heartily approve the forum idea. After all, two eighteenth century forums in Philadelphia gave to us the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

It is the magic of radio that has so greatly increased the usefulness of the forum. Radio listeners have learned to discriminate over the air between the honest advocate who relies on truth and logic and the more dramatic speaker who is clever in appealing to the passions and prejudices of his listeners.

We have had an example of objective reporting during the recent weeks in the presentation of international subjects, both in the press and (the) radio. Right here I should like to throw bouquets to the majority of the press and the radio. Through a period of grave anxiety both have tried to discriminate between fact and propaganda and unfounded rumor and to give to their readers and listeners an unbiased and factual chronicle of developments. This has worked so well in international reporting that one may be pardoned for wishing for more of it in the field of domestic news. It's a good rule. If it is a good rule in

one, why is it not a good rule in the other?

From the end of the World War (onwards) twenty-one years ago, this country, like many others, went through a phase of having large groups of people carried away by some emotion -- some alluring, attractive, even speciously inspiring, public presentation of a nostrum, a cure-all. Many Americans lost their heads because several plausible fellows lost theirs in expounding schemes to end barbarity, to give weekly handouts to people, to give everybody a better job -- or, more modestly, for example, to put a chicken or two in every pot -- all by adoption of some new financial plan or some new social system. And (they all) all of them, all of them burst like bubbles.

Some proponents of nostrums were honest and sincere -- others, too many of them, were seekers of personal power; still others saw a chance to get rich on the dimes and quarters of the poorer people in our population. All of them, perhaps unconsciously, were capitalizing the fact that the democratic form of government works slowly, that there always exists in a democratic society a large group which, quite naturally, champs at the bit over the slowness of democracy and that is why it is right for us who believe in democracy to keep the democratic processes progressive -- in other words, moving forward with the advances in civilization. That is why it is dangerous for democracy to stop moving forward because any period of

stagnation, of standing still increases the numbers of those who demand action and action now.

There are, therefore, two distinct dangers to democracy -- the peril from those who seek the fulfillment of fine ideals at a pace that is too fast for the machinery of the modern body politic to function - people who by insistence on too great speed foster an oligarchic form of government, a form of government such as Communism, or Nazism or Fascism.

And, the other group, (which) that presents an equal danger, is composed of (that) what is really a small minority which complains that the democratic processes are inefficient as well as being too slow, people, in other words, who would have the whole of their government put into the hands of a little group of those who have proved their efficiency in lines of specialized science or specialized private business and do not see the picture as a whole. They equally, and in most cases unconsciously too, are in effect advocating the oligarchic form of government -- Communism or Nazism or Fascism.

Extreme Rightists and extreme Leftists (should) ought not to be taken out by us and shot against the wall, (for they) because people like that sharpen the argument and make us realize the value of the democratic middle course -- especially if that middle course, in order to keep up with the times, is, and I quote what I have said



before, "just a little bit left of center."

I am reminded of four definitions:

A Radical -- a Radical is a man with both feet firmly planted -- in the air.

A Conservative is a man with two perfectly good legs who, however, has never learned to walk forward.

A Reactionary is a somnambulist walking backwards.

A Liberal is a man who uses his legs and his hands at the behest -- at the command -- of his head.

It has been a good thing for us that during the past twenty years we have seen the effect of organized propaganda even when (it) that propaganda has been based on nostrums or prejudices.

It has been a good thing for (the) our country that the Congress of the United States has been deluged from time to time by organized propaganda. Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate begin to discriminate nowadays between honest spontaneous, unsolicited expressions of opinion on the part of the voters and the propaganda type of mass appeals.

Because the country is so profoundly interested in the world situation today I do want to leave with you one thought bearing on international relations. I make bold to do this because the topic of this evening's discussion, as I understand it, is "The War's Challenge to

the United States".

In and out of Congress we have heard orators and commentators and others beating their breasts and proclaiming against sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe. That - that, I do not hesitate to label as one of the worst fakes in current history. It is a deliberate setting up of an imaginary bogey man. The simple truth is that no person, no person in any responsible place in the national administration in Washington, or in any state government, or in any city government, or in any county government, has ever suggested in any shape, manner or form the remotest possibility of sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe. And that is why I label that argument as a shameless and dishonest fake.

I have not the slightest objection to make against (the) those amateurs who, to the reading and the listening public, discourse on the inner meanings of the military and naval events of the war in Europe. They do no harm because the average citizen is acquiring rapidly the gift of discrimination -- and the more all (of) these subjects are talked about by amateur armchair strategists the more the public will make up its own mind in the long run. The public, the American voting public will acquire the ability to think things through for themselves.

The fact of the international situation, the

world situation -- the simple fact, without any bogey in it, without any appeals to prejudice -- is that the United States of America, as I have said before, is neutral and does not intend to get involved in war. That we can be neutral in thought as well as in act is, (as I have said before,) impossible of fulfillment because again, the people of this country, thinking things through calmly and without prejudice, have been and are making up their minds about the relative merits of current events on other continents.

It is a fact increasingly manifest that presentation of real news has sharpened the minds and the judgment of men and women everywhere in these days of real public discussion -- (and) we Americans begin to know the difference between the truth on the one side and the falsehood on the other, no matter how often the falsehood is iterated and reiterated. My friends, remember that repetition does not transform a lie into a truth.



HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

November 11, 1939

NOTE: The following address of the President, to be delivered by telephone from the White House to the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia, on the occasion of its 100th anniversary, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 11:30 A.M., E.S.T., November 11, 1939.

CAUTION: Please safeguard against premature release.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT

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GENERAL KILBOURNE, FRIENDS OF VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE:

It gives me peculiar pleasure to participate in this observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Virginia Military Institute. I very deeply regret that I cannot carry out my hope and expectation of being with you in person, but I know you will understand my difficulty of being away from Washington at this trying time and also my desire to attend the already historic simple ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington.

We, as a nation, like V. M. I. are determined to pursue our way within the Scriptural command not to "remove the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set." And like our ancestors we work for peace, we pray for peace, and we arm for peace.

The whole history of V. M. I. is a triumphant chronicle of the part which the citizen soldier can play in a democracy. V. M. I. bears eloquent witness to the necessity for institutions of learning which, while adhering to the primary purpose of preparing men for work in the arts and sciences, have also a by-product in their military training system. We need today as we have always needed and always shall need, citizens trained in the art of military defense. By no other means can we hope to maintain and perpetuate the democratic form of constitutional, representative government.

On this account I greet V. M. I. as it celebrates the one hundredth anniversary of its beginning; and what associations come to mind as we commemorate this anniversary. We remember among countless others that the immortal name of "Stonewall" Jackson is part of the imperishable heritage of V. M. I. And we honor not less, the town of Lexington as the resting place of that superb soldier and his dauntless chief, that knightly figure without reproach and without fear, another of the great commanders of history, Robert E. Lee.

There is nothing inconsistent in saying a word about peace at this anniversary of a great school of arms. In our history, the two have always had a connection. We have never had the illusion that peace and freedom could be based on weakness.

Jackson and Lee, famous for their military courage, never lost sight of the fact that the only legitimate aim of armed force was to restore civil peace, in which armed force would no longer be needed.

The only object of arms is to bring about a condition in which quiet peace under liberty can endure. It is fitting to remember this today. In this season we have been used to celebrating the anniversary of the Armistice of the World War. Now we need a new and better

peace: a peace which shall cause men at length to lay down weapons of hatred which have been used to divide them; and to forego purposeless ambitions which have created fear, -- ambitions which in the long run serve no useful end. We seek a language in which neighbor can talk to neighbor; in which men can talk to men; and by which the common and homely and human instincts which are found everywhere may reach expression through the elimination of fear.

I have sought -- I still seek -- in all simplicity, to try to find the road toward this peace. It must be the goal not only of men trained to arms, but of all of us everywhere, whose dearest desire is a quiet peace under liberty.

To all of you -- Faculty, Students and Graduates of the Virginia Military Institute, I send my warm greetings on your Centennial. Live up to your great heritage, your noble record and your simple faith throughout the second century that lies before you.

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November 11, 1939

NOTE: The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House in connection with the annual Red Cross Roll Call, is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 10:37 P. M., E.S.T., November 11, 1939.

1403

CAUTION: Please safeguard against premature release.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT

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CHAIRMAN DAVIS AND FRIENDS OF THE RED CROSS EVERYWHERE:

I have gladly accepted the invitation to say a few words on this program launching the annual Roll Call of the American Red Cross. I join in this appeal because the President of the United States also is President of the American Red Cross. Moreover, I believe with heart and soul that all of us Americans should do everything we can to support an organization of such vital importance to our people.

Knowledge of our individual responsibility toward the national and international services of the Red Cross is always essential to the success of these ministrations of mercy. We should bear in mind that, during the Roll Call, the Red Cross does not ask us to make a mere donation. It invites us to join -- to take our place in the legion of men and women of good will who make the Red Cross one of our strongest shields against the forces of destruction -- whether activated by nature or man. We must realize that regardless of race, creed, or color, the Red Cross deeply matters, to us, as individuals, in a world darkened by conflict and misery.

The Red Cross stands upon a remarkable record of service to humanity. Founded in 1861 and chartered by Congress in 1905 as our national voluntary relief agency, the American Red Cross has played a conspicuous part in relieving the distress which has followed every national disaster. The growth of its services to the nation has been in direct proportion to the growing confidence of the American people in its ability to respond swiftly and competently to emergency situations.

The Red Cross this year is being called upon to meet an unusual number of appeals for aid from every quarter. Because our Red Cross is a member of the large family of Red Cross societies who, in time of war join with the neutral International Red Cross in Geneva in the alleviation of suffering caused by war, the conflict in Europe has brought added responsibilities to our national organization. We of this fortunate country are already doing much, in the name of humanity, on behalf of the unfortunate victims of this unhappy conflict. I am sure you would not want it otherwise, and when the time comes for the Red Cross to ask your help to continue this work I am confident of your sympathetic response.

Equally important, however, is the year-in and year-out battle of our Red Cross to preserve life and health here at home. The psychology of hate and destruction so rampant today makes it too easy to forget that while war is not a human necessity neither are the preventable deaths which harm a nation at peace. It is essential, therefore, that the Red Cross continue its efforts to reduce the number of avoidable accidents and illnesses which yearly take the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans.



To make this possible we must keep our Red Cross prepared through memberships and contributions to meet any and all emergencies, whether at home or abroad. The annual Roll Call of the American Red Cross begins today, Armistice Day, but there can be no armistice in our war against need and human suffering.

We have been told many times that it is our Red Cross, that it is our voluntary agency for the relief and prevention of suffering of our neighbors at home and abroad -- and, perhaps, of ourselves. I would like to underscore the truth of that statement. It is our Red Cross, yours and mine. It needs our warm-hearted, generous, typically American support. Both as Chief Executive and as a fellow citizen I urge you to join during the Roll Call -- to join now, and to do your bit.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At the Cornerstone Laying of the Jefferson Memorial  
Washington, D. C., November 15, 1939

(The President was introduced by Honorable Stuart G. Gibboney, Chairman, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission)

MR. GIBBONEY, GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMISSION:

This is the second occasion on which I have had the privilege of coming in an official capacity to this site and I hope that by January in 1941, I shall be able to come to the final dedication of the Memorial itself.

In the earliest days of (the) this Republic of ours, the Republic under the Constitution the representatives of the several states of the Union were in substantial agreement that a national capital should be founded in a federal district set apart from the jurisdiction of any individual state. (This) That purpose was in a true sense a symbol of a realization of national unity; and the final location of the national capital in this place proclaimed a proper compromise between the interest of the North, the South, the seaboard and the interior, as they existed at (the) that time.

In all of the hundred and fifty years of our (existence) life as a constitutional nation many memorials to its civil and military chiefs have been set up (here) in the National Capital. But it has been reserved to two of (these) those leaders to receive special tribute in the

nation's capital by the erection of national shrines perpetuating their memories over and above the appreciation and the regard tendered to other great citizens of the Republic.

And, today we lay the cornerstone of a third great shrine -- adding the name of Thomas Jefferson to the names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

I have spoken of the national character of the District of Columbia itself, a capital (which) that represents today the vitality, not of thirteen Atlantic seaboard states, but of forty-eight states (which) that encompass the whole width of (our) the continent.

This vitality envisages many, many-sided interests: and it is therefore fitting that among hundreds of monuments to famous Americans the three great shrines are dedicated to men of many-sided qualities.

Washington represented abilities recognized in every part of the young nation and, indeed, in every part of the civilized world of his day; for he was not only a great military leader, not only a great moderator in bringing together discordant elements in the formation of a constitutional nation, not only a great executive of that nation in its (troublesome) troublesome early years, but also a man of vision and accomplishments in private civil fields -- talented engineer and surveyor, planner of highways and canals, patron of husbandry, friend of scientists and



fellow of political thinkers.

Lincoln too was a many-sided man. Pioneer of the wilderness, counsel for the under-privileged, soldier in an Indian war, master of the English tongue, rallying point for a torn nation, emancipator, not of slaves alone, but of those of heavy heart everywhere, foe of malice, and teacher of good-will.

To those we add today another American of many parts -- not Jefferson the founder of a party, but the Jefferson whose influence is felt today in many of the current activities of mankind.

When in the year of 1939 America speaks of its Bill of Rights, we think of the author of the statute for religious liberty in Virginia.

When today Americans celebrate the anniversary of the Fourth of July 1776, our minds revert to Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence.

And when each Spring we take part in (the) commencement exercises of schools and universities, then we go back to the days of Jefferson, founder of the University of Virginia.

When we think of his older contemporary, Benjamin Franklin as the experimenter in physics and of science, we remember that Jefferson was an inventor of numerous small devices to make human life simpler and happier and that he, too, experimented in the biology of live stock and of agriculture. (and live stock.)

In the current era (of) in the erection of noble buildings in all parts of the country we recognize the enormous influence of Jefferson in the American application of classic art to homes and public buildings -- an influence (which) that makes itself felt today in the selection of the design for this very shrine for which we are laying the cornerstone.

But it was in the field of political philosophy that Jefferson's significance is transcendent.

He lived as we live in the midst of a struggle between rule by the self-chosen individual or the self-appointed few, and, on the otherhand, rule by the franchise and the approval of the many. He believed as we do that the average opinion of mankind is in the long run superior to the dictates of the self-chosen.

During all the years that have followed Thomas Jefferson the United States has expanded his philosophy into a greater achievement of security of the nation, security of the individual and national unity, than in any other part of the whole round world.

It may be that the conflict between (the) two forms of philosophy will continue for centuries to come, but we in the United States are more than ever satisfied (with) that the republican form of government based on regularly recurring opportunities to our citizens to choose their leaders for themselves.

And, therefore, in memory of the many-sided Thomas Jefferson and in honor of the ever present vitality of his type of Americanism, we lay the cornerstone of this shrine.



BLESSING DELIVERED BY  
The Reverend Frank R. Wilson  
Rector of St. James' Church  
In Connection with the Laying of the Cornerstone  
Of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York  
Sunday, November 19, 1939, 3.00 P.M.

(Dr. Wilson was presented by Mr. Frank G. Walker.)

Let us pray.

Our help is in the name of the Lord who hath made Heaven  
and Earth. Oh Lord hear our prayer.

We glorify Thy Name, our God, whom our Fathers have declared  
to be the one Foundation and Cornerstone of our national life. Our  
faith also is in Thee who art the beginning, the increase and the con-  
summation of every good work undertaken in Thy Name. Bless what we do  
now in laying this cornerstone that this work may be brought to a happy  
conclusion, and the desires of Thy servants be fulfilled. Shield the  
workmen in their work and (save) safeguard them from all injury.

And so with faith in Thee, our God, we lay this stone in the  
Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

ADDRESS OF FRANK C. WALKER  
Treasurer, The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc.  
On the Occasion of the Laying of the Cornerstone  
Of the Library at Hyde Park, New York  
Sunday, November 19, 1939, 3.00 P.M.

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. ROOSEVELT AND FRIENDS:

We are here today to lay the Cornerstone of a new library building. Seemingly, this is just a happy and pleasant occasion, similar to many of its kind -- unusual only in that it is graced by the presence of the President of the United States, his good wife, and mother, and many of their good friends.

(However, it) This is more than that. The laying of this Cornerstone tells to all America (that) the foundation has been completed for The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

(The) This building which is being erected on this site will become the storehouse for the private papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- citizen -- State Senator -- Assistant Secretary of the Navy -- Governor of the State of New York -- President of the United States of America.

This structure, now in its beginning, was conceived and planned by the great American historians and archivists of our generation. Its erection will come to pass because of our fine public-spirited citizens, many of whom are present here (today) and now. And this is all made possible by the understanding, patriotism and generosity of the President of the United States of America. (Applause)

Here will be maintained and preserved the most important archival material. Here, for the first time in our National history, the complete, unedited papers of a Chief Executive will be presented

to the people during his lifetime in office.

Presidential papers are the private accounting record of a sacred public trust, and I am wondering, if, in giving them to the people, Our President does not send (with) them this message: "I give you the records of my stewardship; upon the successes and failures which you find here, build greater safeguards for the perpetuation of our American rights and a greater, more progressive Government for our freedom-loving people."

To you, Mr. President, we are grateful. (Applause)



ADDRESS OF ARCHIBALD MACLEISH  
Librarian of Congress  
On the Occasion of the Laying of the Cornerstone  
Of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York  
Sunday, November 19, 1939, 3.00 P.M.

(Mr. MacLeish was presented by Mr. Frank C. Walker.)

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. ROOSEVELT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

There are those who would say that the Librarian of Congress was an inappropriate speaker on this occasion. There are some indeed who would suggest that the stone he is helping to lay is not a cornerstone but a stone -- so far at least as concerns his dearest hopes (are concerned) -- of an altogether different character. For the library which is to be built from this beginning is a library which will include in time all, or nearly all, the printed records and personal papers of a (memorable) remarkable period in the history of this republic -- papers which the Library of Congress would be very pleased to have.

With that view of my position here I can sympathize but not agree. I can sympathize with the suggestion that the Library of Congress has lost what it would like to have. But I cannot agree that the loss is a disaster. The Library of Congress considers itself, and rightly considers itself, the depository of the American tradition as that tradition is laid down in the manuscripts and the books which make up the visible body of American history. It intends that its collections of these books and these manuscripts shall be as complete as love and industry can make them. It is, and will continue to be, an exceedingly acquisitive institution within this field. But even so the Library of Congress cannot believe that the existence of a great

collection of material on the New Deal at Hyde Park, or the existence of a great collection of material on the World War at Leland Stanford, is a defeat of all its hopes.

There may have been a time when the deposit of essential materials in one library rather than in another was a tragic loss. But if there ever was such a time it was a time which has long since ended. Modern practices of inter-library loans, and modern techniques of photoduplication (can) make the treasures of any American library available to scholars (at work) working in any other.

The unit for scholarly purposes, in other words, is no longer the individual library but libraries as a whole. And the acquisitiveness of librarians changes, or ought to change, accordingly. Librarians no longer torture themselves with thoughts of an imaginary and impossible "completeness" which no library ever has attained or ever will. They no longer encourage in themselves those jealousies of the collector which regard not the usefulness of the thing possessed but the fact of its possession. They consider other and more generous purposes. They consider how the total resources of all the libraries of this republic can be made adequate to the needs of American scholarship. They consider how essential materials of scholarship, now walled off behind the new Chinese Wall of state-taught ignorance, state-taught intolerance and state-taught hate, can be saved for the free inquiry of scholars in those countries where scholars are still free. (Applause) They consider how American libraries can work together to these ends. In the shadow of questions such as these -- questions which will not wait indefinitely for an answer -- there is little room to grow indignant because a given body

of material, however important, is deposited in the State of New York rather than in the District of Columbia.

But there is also another, and perhaps a better, reason why the Library of Congress has been able to reconcile itself to the laying of this stone. The material which is to be deposited here is material which any custodian of records, any keeper of books, would wish if he could to set apart as a single and separate collection, no matter where it was placed or in what company. It is material which forms, by the necessities of its nature, a single and homogeneous whole, and material which no librarian would treat in any other manner.

I do not refer to the fact only that this material has a chronological unity of its own nor to the more impressive fact that it has a human center and a human symmetry. The records of a given sequence of years may be altogether lacking in singleness, and the records of a given man, however famous, may be incoherent and chaotic. What distinguishes these papers is the fact that they are not merely the papers written in a particular sequence of years, nor the papers written by and to and about a particular man, but the papers of a Time -- the papers which speak of, and speak for, and therefore recreate, a Time which the mind and memories of men can recognize.

Scholars talk loosely and easily of times and ages and eras, but the common speech of the people does not abuse these words. In the common speech of the people the ages and the eras and the times are the periods of years which have a definite and recognizable human pattern. They are the periods of years in which the human spirit, the human will to alter the world and recreate it, compels the shapelessness of time to take on meaning. They are sometimes periods of misery



and misfortune. They are more often periods of aspiration and will. But they are always periods of life: periods in which the strong and restless human life breaks off the custom, and compels the world to be the world that men are capable of imagining: not the world that men (have) accepted in the past.

The records which will be collected here are the records, in this precise and common sense, of an era and of a time. They are the records of a period in which the strong and restless life of the American people refused to accept the world as it had been and demanded that the world become the world their (longing) wishing could imagine. They are the records of the speaking and the action of the man who, more than any other man, has been the actor and the speaker of this time -- the man who refused, in the name of his generation, to continue to accept what was no longer acceptable -- the man who demanded, for his generation, what his generation had the courage to (demand) accept. As such they have the unity which history remembers and even living men can see.

They belong by themselves, here in this river country, on the land from which they came. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF DR. R. D. W. CONNOR  
Archivist of the United States  
On the Occasion of the Laying of the Cornerstone  
Of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York  
Sunday, November 19, 1939, 3.00 P.M.

(Dr. R. D. W. Connor was presented by Mr. Frank C. Walker.)

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. ROOSEVELT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Franklin D. Roosevelt is the Nation's answer to the historian's prayer. As a student of history, he has a clear understanding of the role of the statesman in the life of a nation; as a statesman, he has an equally clear understanding of the role of the historian. The statesman directs events, the historian interprets them. Mr. Roosevelt understands that it is the statesman's obligation to supply the historian with the records that constitute the raw materials of history.

Ordinarily it is impossible for a man to forecast his own place in history or to know with any degree of certitude whether the records of his own career will ever be of any historical value. One is safe in saying, however, that any man who has served as the chief magistrate of a great nation becomes ipso facto a historical figure and the records of his life and career will be indispensable sources for the study of the nation's history. The papers of American Presidents, therefore, are source materials of the highest value for the American historian. Yet there are no White House archives. Beginning with Washington, our Presidents have considered their Presidential papers as their personal property and each outgoing President has made a clean sweep of the file rooms of the Executive Mansion. Nobody has ever seriously questioned their right to do so.

Although the papers of Presidents are not official records, they lose nothing in historical value by that fact. Nor does that fact lessen the moral if not the legal obligation of their owners to preserve them for the benefit of the Nation. But this obligation entails a financial burden that few ex-Presidents, or their heirs, have been able to meet at their own expense. The results have been disastrous. Neglect, ignorance, fire, and other hazards have taken their toll. The papers of a few Presidents have disappeared altogether; of some others only fragments remain; still others are privately owned and practically inaccessible to historians. Portions of the papers of nine Presidents have been preserved because their thrifty heirs sold them to the Government for sums ranging from \$500 to \$55,000.

Mr. Roosevelt was fully aware of these conditions when he came to consider the ultimate disposition of his own papers. Several considerations entered into his final decision. Perhaps he was appalled at the flood of records of all kinds that pours daily into his office. Whereas his immediate predecessor received an average of some 400 letters a day, President Roosevelt has been deluged with a daily average of upwards of 4,000 -- a fact in itself indicative of the development of our American democracy. We do not need to await the appearance of some future Bancroft to tell us that the period (in which) covered by Mr. Roosevelt's administrations (have fallen) is a significant era in American history, or that his papers will be indispensable sources for the study of this period for generations to come. Even the Congressman who said that President Roosevelt's papers should be preserved so that future Presidents could learn from them how not to run the Government unintentionally gave them a high evaluation as historical source



materials. (Laughter - applause) It must be evident, therefore, that the volume of the President's papers is too great for them to be adequately preserved and administered as a private collection, and too important to the Nation to justify their being held in private custody.

Such were some of the considerations that inspired the President's plan to carve out of his Hyde Park estate this beautiful 16-acre lot, to have erected thereon with private funds a modern fireproof building as a permanent repository for his historical material, and to donate the whole as a completed project to the Nation to be maintained by the Government for the benefit of the American people.

Here for the first time in our history, through the generosity of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his friends and associates, will be deposited and preserved under Federal control and for the use of the public an extensive and invaluable collection of the papers and other historical materials of a President of the United States relating to a specific period of American history. It is this fact that gives significance to these ceremonies in which we are participating.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At the Thanksgiving Dinner, Georgia Warm Springs Foundation  
Warm Springs, Georgia, November 23, 1939

MEMBERS OF THE OLD WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, MEMBERS OF THE  
WARM SPRINGS FAMILY:

I do not know how you feel but Anne Smither feels better than she did at the beginning of the dinner.

Somebody -- I think it was Tommy Qualters -- told Anne that she was going to have the neck of the turkey and I think she was distinctly worried until the real thing came to the table on the plate.

You know these parties, sometimes I think they have always been going on, all my life, and yet it is only just fifteen years ago that I came down here, all alone, to have a perfectly good holiday and try out a thing called "the pool," "the public pool". Why, it is so long ago -- fifteen years -- that it was even before Fred Botta got here and probably a lot of you think that Fred was born here. And then, as time went on, our Thanksgiving dinners got to be something. I remember in the old Inn, the old fire trap -- it was about two hundred feet from where we are now -- at the first Thanksgiving Day dinner in 1925, only fourteen years ago -- oh, yes, Fred was there but at that time he was a very small boy -- we were perfectly thrilled because we had, including all the people who worked on the place and the one doctor and the one physiotherapist -- we must have had fifty people at that dinner. Then, as time went on,

the problem of the old Inn and its dining hall got to be serious because -- I don't know when it was -- around 1928 or 1929 we had two hundred people at our Thanksgiving Dinner and we got awfully worried because there were some ominous creaks in the middle of the dinner after the turkey had been eaten -- not creaks from the people but creaks from the foundation of the building. It was a great question as to whether the timbers of the old Inn would stand the surfeit of food. That was one reason why we built Georgia Hall, because we were not quite sure if we got bigger and better Thanksgiving Day dinners that the old Inn would stand up. It was a matter of pure physical precaution that we had to build Georgia Hall.

And now -- this is not the first dinner we have had here -- it is going to be a question before most of us die as to whether this dining room is going to be big enough or not. However, we have all sorts of tricks up our sleeve; we can extend this dining room either that way or that way, behind me, or even out sideways. So I have an idea there will always be plenty of room for the Thanksgiving Day party.

When I left here at the end of April or the beginning of May -- I have forgotten when it was -- I said to the people down at the train that I would be back this Fall if we did not have a war. Well, we had a war; we have a war today. Of course there were columns written about



just what I meant -- of course I meant just what I said -- and we have a war, but I managed somehow to get down here this Fall and I hope that next Spring there won't be any war (applause) -- but if the war should be still going on, I still hope to be able to get down here, even if it is for a very much shortened holiday, even for a few days, just to see how the Warm Springs family is getting on.

You know, I am in favor of war. I am very much in favor of war, the kind of war that we are conducting here at Warm Springs, the kind of war that, aided and abetted by what we have been doing at Warm Springs now for fourteen or fifteen years, is spreading all over the country -- the war against the crippling of men and women and, especially, of children. It is a comparatively new fight. Even the older people here will be perhaps surprised a little when I tell them that fifty years ago, when some of us who are here tonight were alive, there was practically nothing being done in all of the United States to help crippled people to use their arms and legs again.

What did they do? Well, they were just sort of pushed off on the side; they were just unfortunate people. It was just what they used to call "an act of God" and there were a lot of very good religious people, people who belonged to churches, people who lived Christian lives, all over the United States who, when somebody in the family got infantile paralysis or something else in those days,

would say that it was an act of God and they would do nothing more about it. The child or the grownup would be just sort of regarded as an unfortunate victim of something that no human being could do anything about. They were segregated; they were put up in the attic. It was one of the things you didn't talk about in the family or among the neighbors. And what is that? Half a century ago! And what a change there has been in those fifty years.

In other words, I think our attitude towards religion, towards helping one's neighbors has changed an awful lot and we believe that there are certain forms of human endeavor that may be called, very properly, war -- war against things that we understand about, things that can be improved, ameliorated, bettered in every way because of human endeavor.

I do not have to tell all of you the tremendous strides that have been made in medicine and, incidentally, in the attitude of people in almost every community in this country towards certain types of human affliction. But it seems to me also that here at Warm Springs we have discovered something that has not yet been recognized as a fact all over the United States, and that is the fact of human relationships -- and the relationship of that human relationship to science and medicine.

Way back there, fifteen years -- fourteen years ago, when some of the first people came down here because

of a Sunday newspaper story and nothing else, there came into being a thing called "the Spirit of Warm Springs." Well, of course everybody likes to think in local terms but gradually, over those years, that thing that we here call "the Spirit of Warm Springs" has, I think, developed into a major factor in medical science itself, something that is recognized by a great many doctors but not by all. You and I can imagine and some of us have seen very wonderful modern hospitals where, in such a hospital, there is everything that modern science can devise -- the best of medical care, the best of nursing care -- but somehow, when one has gone through a great modern institution of the kind I am talking about -- and there are not many -- comes away feeling that it is all mechanized, it is all mechanical, it is all something that does not take into account human relationships.

Down here at Warm Springs in the last few years, principally of course because of the tremendous national support that we have had, we have built up here a mechanically perfect place. This new infirmary, with all that modern science can possibly give -- that is all to the good -- and yet I do hope to see Warm Springs go on in the position to give the spirit of Warm Springs, the human associations, the general feeling that we are all part of a family, that we are having a pretty good time out of it all, getting well not only in our legs and arms but also helping our minds in



relationship to the minds of everybody around us, the other patients, the staff, the friends and the families, all of whom make up Warm Springs.

And so, now that our mechanical equipment is so good, now that we are up-to-date, I hope that it is going to be our endeavor always in the years to come to keep up the old spirit of human relationships that has meant so much in the past.

It has been a good dinner. I have a flock of telegrams in my hand from members of the Cabinet, from members of the Senate, from members of the House of Representatives, from Governors of many states -- the Governor of the State of Georgia in particular. Here is one from a girl who, I think, used to be here in the old days:

"Here's to our national birds, the eagle and the turkey. May the one give us peace in all our states and the other a piece for all our plates."

Now I understand that we are going to have one of those old fashioned Warm Springs plays and then some songs from our Tuskegee friends.

It has been a grand party for me and I hope you all love this as much as Anne Smither and I do.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
At the Dedication of the  
Sarah Delano Roosevelt Community Center  
Warm Springs, Georgia, November 24, 1939

MRS. HILL, MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS:

I am glad Mrs. Hill spoke about the past and I like to think, not of the long distant past before I knew Warm Springs but of Warm Springs just in the past fifteen years.

I was talking last night to the patients about the great changes up on the Hill. I could have said the same thing about all the changes down here, below the Hill. I can remember what a real journey it was to go to Atlanta and how one needed a bath after arriving there, before the days of concrete roads. I can remember this Main Street in town before we improved it, because the Highway Department would not have done it unless we had insisted on it. And I can remember, too, how very insistent the Women's Club was at that time in having this little park in the middle of the street. There are lots and lots of things that I can remember.

As a matter of fact, my dear Mother almost was here today. About ten days ago, when I was at Hyde Park, she said, "You know, I think I would like to go down with you this trip but I am only going to get a few weeks up here on the River before I go to town and I think I will have to postpone it until Spring." So I am hoping very

much that next March, when I come down here as usual, my Mother will be able to come with me and see this building and go inside and look it all over, from the roof to the fire department.

You know, you good people are not at all grasping. Up in the little village of Hyde Park, for the last four or five years, every time I go to any kind of a community gathering, somebody gets up and says, "Mr. President, when are we going to get that new post office?" But, as far as I know, there has not been a request from Warm Springs for a new post office.

Well, what have we got? We have got a little over a year left. I do not know that the next Administration would give Warm Springs a new post office. But there has got to be a local demand and then maybe if I were to get hold of Jim Farley and take him firmly by the neck I might squeeze a new post office out of him.

Actually, it took me a long time to get one for Hyde Park but Jim Farley and the Treasury Department decided about six months ago that Hyde Park was due for a post office. Of course we are very fortunate up there because we have a Republican Congressman and that means that he does not allocate the post offices in his district -- I do. Now, you have a perfectly good Democratic Congressman so, of course, the first thing to do is to get on the right side of our Congressman down here. I do not allocate



the post offices in this district -- he does.

I go back even to the days when there were two post offices. There was a post office here and another post office up on the Hill. There was a delightful old gentleman who took care of all the property on the Hill from the time WarmSprings closed, about the middle of September, until the following May. He was the only inhabitant up there except for a few people who used to come down over a weekend to the Cottage. Of course he read all the postcards -- the people who run our post office down here would never do a thing like that. We were very, very comfortable up there with our post office. It was a one-man show and I suppose, in the course of the winter, there might be one letter a week. But here we have an increasing post office business and I think probably, if you good people would start the ball rolling, your Congressman might get a new one.

That is only a suggestion but I do like to see new buildings, especially if they are as nice looking as this one is. I know my Mother is going to be very, very happy when she sees this building, I hope next Spring, so I hope to be able to bring her down here. And I also hope you will let her dedicate it instead of my dedicating it. This will be a preliminary dedication.

It has been fine to come down again. I am delighted that this building has been put up. The Community

Center is doing a grand piece of work for the town and I know it is going to increase in usefulness as the years go by.

Many thanks.

THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB  
Annual Founders' Dinner  
December 7, 1939, 9.30 P.M.  
Transcript of the President's Extemporaneous Remarks

(The President was introduced by Arthur Hachten, who said:

I think we are all agreed that we have seen a wonderful show. We have never been more delightfully and wonderfully entertained. Gene (Mr. Buck), again you have come through with colors flying. There is only one man I know who is a better showman than you.

I have purposely held back my references to him. This showman got his start as a journalist, not as a publisher or a printer's devil but on the staff of the Harvard Crimson. By hard work and constant application he has worked his way up. Today he is editor and publisher of the Federal Register.

Seriously, Mr. President, you are a newspaper reporter's President. By that I mean that you make news and in these times, when those lousy dictators are choking free press, it is mighty comforting to know that in our country our chief magistrate keeps his door open to the Press. (Applause)

No greater honor could come to our Club than to have the President of the United States as our guest. The pleasure is doubly compounded in the case of President Roosevelt. He is a member of our Club and is a dues-paid member at that.

Our Number One member has graciously consented to say a few words off the record. (Applause) )

THE PRESIDENT:

PRESIDENT HACHTEN AND FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE CLUB:

I feel a lot better this evening than I felt all day, for a



good many reasons. Well, just for example, I have been seeing one of those weeklies with a face in it and comments almost every week for a good many years but this is the first time that I ever knew that Low Lehr was a living man. (Laughter)

Well, there is another thing. I have been down in the dumps all day. I have been worrying and doing a little silent crying into my handkerchief. If I had had a Press Conference today, it would have been a complete flop; oh, I might have said some pert things about the Press. (Laughter) Well, the reason was this: I discovered, when I read the papers this morning, that I was a defeatist, and that nearly all of you, the great overwhelming majority of you, my fellow members, were defeatists. Well, that is an awful name to call a fellow.

I cheered up a little bit quite late this afternoon when I got the last edition and saw that Harold Ickes said that he had a baby too. (Laughter)

Well, I have got an awful lot of grandchildren so I think we are fairly safe. (Laughter)

Then, tonight, there was only one thing in the whole procedure that I objected to. I thought I was Santa Claus. (Applause)

They raised the question about when is Christmas. Well, I said it all right; I said it all right. It is the last Monday in December. (Laughter)

However, we are a democracy -- still. (Laughter) Isn't that so, Mark (Mr. Sullivan)? (Laughter) Even John Lewis will agree with that. (Laughter) I think, being in a democracy, we ought to leave it next year -- it is too late now to change it -- I think we ought to leave the date next year up to George Gallup.

Well, this fake Santa Claus didn't look the least bit like me. It was a poor representation. He handed various things up here to the head table. I have forgotten most of them. I tried to jot down some of them. He gave me a ring, a great big one -- well, that goes to the latest grandchild. And he gave me a hat but, you know, I have a curious habit -- I suppose it is part of my Dutch blood and part of my Scotch blood -- I have never given away a hat yet. (Applause)

And then he gave me a calendar. I like that, because that sets the date of the Convention -- approximately. (Laughter) July is torn out and August is torn out and September and he went me one better: October is torn out. So, Gentlemen, the Conventions, both of them, will be held between the first and fourth of November, and the fifth is Election Day. It will be a good custom because, you know, I love change. I love to change customs for better customs.

And then, what else did he give me? Oh, he gave me a dunce's cap. What happened to that dunce's cap? I have not used it since, I don't know who it was -- young Post (Mr. Robert Post of the New York Times) went to London. I think he must have taken it with him because I did not use it again, but I lost it. Thank God, it has come back.

Now, I have been downcast about this defeatism thing, very much, but I have got one suggestion in view of the fact that this country is going to Hell. We were glad -- I was glad because I have been talking to a lot of my fellow members about the preservation of the records, permanently, of the Press. Of course you and I know when the country goes to Hell the first place to be attacked is the National Capital. You have not a safe place here in this building and you know what would happen if you put them in the Library of Congress. Probably

the new Librarian, Archie MacLeish, would translate them into poetry and then you would not have any original records. So I made a perfectly serious suggestion: Probably the safest places in the United States are the places we have in the country. They are not worth bombing just for one little library up in Hyde Park. And, as a matter of fact, that Library will have papers in it, documents of all kinds, that go back to that very famous year, 1908, the year the Club was founded.

I think it is a pretty good idea and I hereby invite you to place the records of the founding of the Club and the building of the building down through this Administration in the Library at Hyde Park.  
(Applause)

And then, at the very end, nearing the end, was a very nice song, one of a lot of very nice songs, from which I got just a little thought, and the theme of the song was these words and there are just two words to answer them with. The theme of the song was, "Anything can be done today."

And the first word in answer to it is a perfectly proper word to use for people who stop short in merely expressing the opinion, "Anything can be done today." It is one little short word; the word is, "How?" -- "How" with a question mark.

And the other word, that is not a bad answer, is just the same word but it is expressed differently. Fellow members of the Club, "How!" (Applause)



INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
In Presenting a Medal  
Awarded to Mrs. Richard Aldrich  
By the Congress  
Hyde Park, December 17, 1939

This is not an ordinary medal. This is a Congressional Medal and it is given by an Act of the Congress which I think it would be appropriate to read:

"(Private - No. 644 - 75th Congress)  
(Chapter 552 - 3d Session)

(S. 3917)

AN ACT

Authorizing the President to present gold medals to Mrs. Richard Aldrich and posthumously to Anna Boulogny.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to present a gold medal of appropriate design to Mrs. Richard Aldrich, nee Margaret Livingston Chanler, and posthumously to Anna Boulogny, deceased, who, during the War with Spain, voluntarily went to Puerto Rico and there rendered service of inestimable value to the Army of the United States in the establishment and operation of hospitals for the care and treatment of military patients in Puerto Rico. The posthumous presentation to Anna Boulogny, deceased, shall be made to such representative of the said Anna Boulogny, deceased, as the President may designate. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sum as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Approved, June 20, 1938."

In pursuance of that Act, the medal has been struck by the Mint after I had received six designs, and it is this particular one which I chose and which I hope very much that Mrs. Aldrich will like.

You see, I go back to the Spanish American War.

I tried to enlist but was taken with an attack of the mumps before I could do it. I think the thing that strikes all of us, is the amazing progress which has been made in nursing since those earlier days. And I think, in view of what you went through down there, first to get to the South and then across to Puerto Rico, the almost complete lack of facilities you found, the hardships you overcame, and the imagination it took to carry the work through, that this is the best deserved of Congressional medals I know of and, of course, it personally gives me great pleasure to be able to give it to one of my very old friends and close neighbors.

REMARKS OF MRS. RICHARD ALDRICH  
In Acceptance of Congressional Medal  
From the President  
Hyde Park, December 17, 1939

Mr. President, Your Excellency:

My thanks for, and appreciation of, this beautiful tribute from you and from the Congress, are steeped in memories which recall as though present a host of persons all engaged in terminating upon our neighboring West Indies, corrupt European government.

My experiences among them were of Opportunity, Faith and Gratitude.

Opportunity came first; from General Miles, from his Chief Medical Officer Colonel Greenleaf, from the Puerto Rican Red Cross, from officers who brought their men to our wards and from those officers who themselves took advantage of our nursing. This they did because of their belief in The Red Cross that gigantic dynamo for faith and service. I have a letter written in some very small remote place saying "I am the mother of an army packer. I read every day about soldiers. Nobody speaks about the packers. Miss Chanler I know you will find my son if he is near where you are because I see you belong to the Red Cross." Such faith as this raising any situation above the capacities of an individual brought me the strength I needed in unusual surroundings.

And then there was gratitude. I see weak men helped through doors by their friends trying to express



relief at finding rest and care. I see, some days later strong men pouring out gratitude because they were leaving us for their regiments. That is what the Army Nurse does. She shortens the time spent on sick leave. The lowest hour in Army hospitals is that which includes the time for reporting for duty.

Gratitude felt by soldiers returning to service may well be perpetuated in gold by their Government.

Today the gratitude is mine. I am happy to have lived so long that I may say: Government has not forgotten. Government does not forget. Government remembers.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

FOR THE PRESS

December 23, 1939.

CAUTION: The President's Christmas greeting must be held for release.

Release is automatic for five ten o'clock (5:10)  
P.M., E.S.T., December 24, 1939.

NOTE: Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

CHRISTMAS, 1939.  
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The old year draws to a close. It began with dread of evil things to come and it ends with the horror of another war adding its toll of anguish to a world already bowed under the burden of suffering laid upon it by man's inhumanity to man.

But, thank God for the interlude of Christmas. This night is a night of joy and hope and happiness and promise of better things to come. And so in the happiness of this Eve of the most blessed day in the year I give to all of my countrymen the old, old greeting -- "Merry Christmas -- Happy Christmas".

A Christmas rite for me is always to re-read that immortal little story by Charles Dickens, "A Christmas Carol". Reading between the lines and thinking as I always do of Bob Cratchit's humble home as a counterpart of millions of our own American homes, the story takes on a stirring significance to me.

Old Scrooge found that Christmas wasn't a humbug. He took to himself the spirit of neighborliness. But today neighborliness no longer can be confined to one's little neighborhood. Life has become too complex for that. In our country neighborliness has gradually spread its boundaries -- from town, to county, to state and now at last to the whole nation.

For instance, who a generation ago would have thought that a week from tomorrow - January 1, 1940 - tens of thousands of elderly men and women in every state and every county and every city of the nation will begin to receive checks every month for old age retirement insurance -- and not only that but also insurance benefits for the wife, the widow, the orphan children and even dependent parents? Who would have thought a generation ago that people who lost their jobs would, for an appreciable period, receive unemployment insurance - that the needy, the blind and the crippled children are receiving some measure of protection which will reach down to the millions of Bob Cratchits, the Marthas and the Tiny Tims of our own "four room homes".

In these days of strife and sadness in many other lands, let us in the nations which still live at peace forbear to give thanks only for our good fortune in our peace.

Let us rather pray that we may be given strength to live for others -- to live more closely to the words of the Sermon on the Mount and to pray that peoples in the nations which are at war may also read, learn and inwardly digest these deathless words.

May their import reach into the hearts of all men and of all nations.

I offer them as my Christmas message.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's  
is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall  
be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit  
the earth.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst  
after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain  
mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall  
see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be  
called the children of God.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for  
righteousness' sake: for their's is the  
kingdom of heaven".

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January 19, 1940

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House in connection with the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:30 P. M., E. S. T., January 19, 1940.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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Last April when this Conference first met at the White House I asked you to consider two things: First, how a democracy can best serve its children; and, second, how children can best be helped to grow into the kind of citizens who will know how to preserve and perfect our democracy.

Since then a succession of world events has shown us that our democracy must be strengthened at every point of strain or weakness. All Americans want this country to be a place where children can live in safety and grow in understanding of the part they must play in the Nation's future. Adequate national defense calls for adequate munitions and implements of war and, at the same time, for educated, healthy and happy citizens. Neither requisite taken alone and without the other will give us national security.

And now it is my pleasure to receive from you the General Conference Report with its program of action. You have adopted this report after two days of careful deliberation, preceded by nearly a year of study and discussion.

Almost every one within reach of my voice thinks of children in terms of two or three subjects in which he has special experience, such as education or recreation or health. Or, he may have great enthusiasm for one particular kind of child-welfare service. I myself am tremendously interested, for example, in crippled children. This Conference report, however, rightly calls on us to think of the child as a whole, as he is related to the life of his family, his community, and the entire Nation.

I can illustrate best the extent to which the interests of children are interwoven with the interests of families and communities by giving you the main topics of the Conference report.

The first part reminds me sharply that by every step we take to protect the families of America we are protecting the children also. Here the recommendations in general constitute an argument for buttressing and strengthening the institution of the family as it relates to the health, training, and opportunities of children in a democracy. This part of the discussion includes families and their incomes; families in need of assistance; families and their dwellings; the family as the threshold of democracy.

Following these topics, the report discusses religion in the lives of children; schools; leisure-time activities; libraries; protection against child labor; youth and their needs; conserving child health; social services for children; children in minority groups; and public financing and administration.

After reviewing the record of the past ten years, your Conference finds that we have definitely improved our social institutions and public services. You conclude, and rightly, that to have made progress in a period of hardship and strain proves that America has both strength and courage. But we have still much to do. Too many children are still living under conditions that must be corrected if our democracy is to develop to its highest capacity.

You tell us that more than half the children of America live in families that do not have enough money to provide fully adequate shelter, food, clothing, medical care and educational opportunity.

You are rightly concerned that provision be made for those who are unemployed, whether for economic or personal reasons. To keep families from starving while fathers walk the streets in vain search of jobs will not give children the best start in life.

Social insurance to provide against total loss of income, and appropriate work projects adjusted to fluctuations in private employment and to both urban and rural needs, constitute the first lines of defense against family disaster.

You tell me in effect what I have been talking about for many years -- that we are moving forward toward an objective of raising the incomes and living conditions of the poorest third of our population, that we have made some dent on the problem, and that most decidedly we cannot stop and rest on our somewhat meager laurels.

I agree with you that public assistance of many kinds is necessary but I suggest to you that mere grants in aid constitute no permanent solution but that we should address ourselves to two policies: First, to increase the average of incomes in the poorer communities and areas, and, second, to an insistence that every community and area pay taxes in accordance with its ability to pay.

The Conference report has called attention also to the need for continuing and expanding public and private housing programs if families in the lowest income groups are to live in dwellings suitable for the rearing of children.

Last April I referred to our concern for the children of migratory families who have no settled place of abode. The situation of these children who have no homes, and can put down no roots in school or community, calls for special consideration. This means in its simplest terms a program for the permanent resettlement of at least one million people -- and money spent on it, after careful planning, will be returned to the Nation many times over in a relatively short time.

Your report has devoted many pages to family economics. We all recognize that the spirit within the home is the most important of all influences in the growth of the child. In family life the child should first learn confidence in his own powers, respect for the feelings and rights of others, the security of mutual good will, faith in God. Here he should find a common bond between the interests of the individual and the interests of the group. Mothers and fathers, by the kind of life they build within the four walls of home, are largely responsible for the future public and social life of our country.



Just as we cannot take care of the child apart from his family, so his welfare is bound up with other institutions that influence his development -- the school, the church, and the agencies which offer useful and happy activities and interests for leisure time. The work of all these institutions needs to be harmonized so as to give our children rounded growth with the least possible conflict and loss. The money and hard work that go into these public and private enterprises are repaid many times over.

Religion, especially, helps children to appreciate life in its wholeness and to develop a deep sense of the sacredness of human personality. In view of the estimate that perhaps one-half the children in this country are having no regular religious instruction, it is important to consider how provision can best be made for religious training. In this we must keep in mind both the wisdom of maintaining the separation of Church and State and the great importance of religion in personal and social living.

I share with you the belief that fair opportunity for schooling should be available to every child in our country. I agree with you that no American child, merely because he happens to be born where property values are low and local taxes do not support good schools, should be placed at a disadvantage in his preparation for citizenship.

Certainly our future is endangered when nearly a million children of elementary school age are not in school; when thousands of school districts and even some entire States do not pay for good schools. This situation has been reported by many agencies, private and public, and needs to be still more widely understood. But I suggest again that the permanent answer is not mere handouts from the Federal Treasury but has to be solved by improving the economics of the poorer sections of the country and an insistence on adequate taxation in accordance with ability to pay.

We must plan also on a larger scale to give American children a chance for healthful play and worth-while use of leisure. I agree with you that a democratic government has vital interest in these matters. I am glad that you have suggested a national commission, under private auspices, to study leisure-time needs and recreational resources.

More than in any previous decade, we know how to safeguard the health of parents and children. Because of the advance of medical knowledge and the growth of public health work, we have it in our power to conquer many diseases and to promote good health.

New opportunities mean new duties. It was one thing to let people sicken and die when we were helpless to protect them. It is now quite another thing to leave a large portion of our population without care. It is my definite hope that within the next ten years every part of the country will have complete service for all women during maternity and for all new born infants.

So, too, good nutrition is the basis of child health. I am in sympathy with your suggestion that I appoint a National Nutrition Committee to review our present knowledge and coordinate our efforts, looking toward the development of nutrition policies based on the newest and best knowledge.



You have charted a course for ten years or more ahead. Nevertheless, the steps we take today will determine how far we can go tomorrow, and in what direction.

I believe with you that if anywhere in the country any child lacks opportunity for home life, health protection, education, or moral and spiritual development, the strength of the Nation and its ability to cherish and advance the principles of democracy are thereby weakened.

I ask all our fellow citizens who are within the sound of my voice to consider themselves identified with the work of this Conference. I ask you all to study and to discuss with friends and neighbors the program it has outlined, and how its objectives can be realized. May the security and happiness of every boy and girl in our land be our concern, our personal concern, from now on.

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NOTE: Following is address as actually delivered.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
broadcast from the White House  
in connection with the  
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY  
January 19, 1940, 10:40 P.M., E.S.T.

MISS PERKINS, MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON  
CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY:

I come here tonight with a very heavy heart because shortly ago I received word of the passing of a very old friend of mine, a very great American, Senator Borah. I had known him for a great many years and I had realized, although perhaps on this or that or the other political problem we may have differed from time to time, yet his purpose and my purpose and the ultimate objective of, I think, everybody in this room interested in the future of America, were identical -- and the Nation has lost one of its great leaders in his passing.

I am glad to come here in the thought that Senator Borah of Idaho would want us to go on with the work of building a better citizenship in the days to come in the United States.

You know, I go back, not as far as he did, but I go back a great many years. I go back to my days in college when I worked for an organization called "The Social Service Committee" -- after that, my wife came into the picture and, when we were engaged, I discovered that she was teaching classes of children on the East Side in New York.

And then, very soon after I was admitted to the Bar, I got to know another very great America, an old friend of yours and mine, Homer Folks. And probably Homer does not remember it himself but in New York in those days we were just beginning to take up the problem of providing milk for babies, for mothers, in all parts of that big city. And I, wanting to do something in addition to trying to learn a little law, went in with an organization which has long since ceased to exist because it was absorbed by greater organizations, the New York Milk Committee, and I worked for two or three years in trying to help in placing milk stations for babies on the East Side and West Side and up in the Bronx in New York City.

Homer Folks was one of the principal moving agencies in setting that up and it is rather an interesting thing that the woman who was most greatly responsible for helping to provide milk for dependent poor children in the great city of New York was Mrs. Borden Harriman. I sent Mrs. Harriman as United States Minister to Norway two years ago.

Last April when this Conference first met in this room I asked you to consider two things: first, how a democracy can best serve its children; and, the corollary, how children can best be helped to grow into the kind of citizens who will know how to preserve and perfect our democracy.

Since that time -- since last April -- a succession of world events has shown us that our democracy must be strengthened at every point of strain or weakness. All Americans want this country to be a place where children can live in safety and grow in understanding of the part that they are going to play in the future of our American Nation. And on that question, people have come to me and they have said, "What about defense?" "Well," I have said, "internal defense and external defense are one and the same thing. You cannot have one unless you can have both."

Adequate national defense, in the broadest term, calls for adequate -- yes, on the one side -- munitions and implements of war and, at the same time, it calls for educated, healthy and happy citizens. And neither requisite, taken alone, taken all by itself without the other, will give us, will defend the national security.



And so today, in January, 1940, it is my pleasure to receive from you the General Conference Report with its program of action. You have adopted this report after days of careful deliberation, preceded by nearly a year of study and discussion.

And, by way of illustration, I am having a problem with the Congress of the United States as to whether the problems of the United States are going to be decided after a couple of days of careful deliberation in each House or whether I am going to get a couple of million dollars for undertaking studies that would correspond to this year of study, this year of discussion, that you good people have been putting into the problem of children in a democracy. And I think I am going to win out.

When I started to jot down some notes about what I was going to say tonight -- and so far I have been speaking, as you have observed, practically extemporaneously -- I said to myself, "This is going to be the most dreadful speech I have ever delivered," because, when I come to write down notes and dictate a speech, I say to myself, "What is it in this particular subject that I am going to talk about that hits me between the eyes?" And, on this particular subject of children in a democracy, the thing that hit me between the eyes was what I got about a week ago, a list, a tabulation, a catalog of what you have been studying.

And so I felt that the Nation as a whole ought to realize that the subject of children covers several pages of a catalog. There are so many interests involved, so many problems involved. Almost everybody who is hearing me tonight I suppose in every state of the Union thinks of children in terms of two or three of these subjects on the average, two or three subjects in which he or she have special experience or special interest, such as education of children or the recreation of children or the health of children. Or he or she may have some great enthusiasm for one particular kind of child welfare service. For instance, I myself am tremendously interested in crippled children.

But this Conference report rightly calls on us to think of children as a whole, as each child is related, not to one life, not only to his own life but to the lives of his brothers and sisters, the life of his family and then, inevitably, to the life of his community, the life of his county, the life of his State and the life of his Nation.

And that is why if people in this country are going to think of this problem as it really is, they have got to listen to a catalogue for the next ten minutes.

I can illustrate best the extent to which the interests of children are interwoven with the interests of families and communities by giving you these main topics of the conference and I do not think there is any one of these topics of which we can say, "Well, that is awfully nice, but what relation has it to the problem of my child?" Well, of course it has, every subject here has.

And the first part of the Conference report reminds us sharply that by every step we take to protect the families of America, we are protecting the children also. Well, put that in another way: it means that what Federal Government and state government, county government, town government, village government, everything else, what they are doing to coordinate the economy and the social problems of their own communities in relation to the whole population necessarily has an effect on every child in that community. Here we find in this report recommendations in general which constitute an argument for buttressing and strengthening, in the first instance, the institution of the family, the family as it relates again to a whole, and of other things - health, training and opportunities of children in what we are pleased to call a democracy and, thank God, it still is.



This part of the discussion includes families and their incomes, families in need of assistance, families and their dwellings and the family as a threshold to the future democracy of this country.

And then, following that group of topics, the report discusses a lot of other things that either enter or ought to enter into the life of every American child in every part of the country, schools, religion, leisure time activities -- mind you, these are all separate topics that we are trying to coordinate into one national picture -- libraries, protection against child labor, youth and the needs of youth, the conserving of child health, the social services for children, children in minority groups and, something that a lot of people forget, as I have good reason to know as the Chief Executive, the subject of public financing and administration.

But what I am specially pleased about is this: that this Conference, made up of men and women that belong to every political party in every part of the country, has found that we have definitely improved our social institutions and our public services during these past ten years. And the only thing that good old Homer Folks said that I do not agree with -- he called them "these terrible ten years", and I do not. I think they have been the most interesting ten years since -- what? Well, at least since the Civil War and maybe since the Revolution. And we are all glad we have had a part in them because I believe that though we have had lots of trouble, lots of difficulties, that these past ten years have been ten useful and, on the whole, ten years of definite progress in a democracy.

The Conference concludes, and rightly, that to have made progress in a period of hardship and strain proves that America has both strength and courage.

But, again, I agree with the Conference that we still have got a long way to go. Too many children, and you can find them in every State in the Union, are living under conditions that must be corrected if our democracy is to develop to its highest capacity. The Conference tells me that more than half of the children of America are living in families that do not have enough money to provide fully adequate shelter, adequate food, adequate clothing and adequate medical care and adequate educational opportunities.

I have been called to task, as you all know, because I have reiterated, reiterated many times, something about one-third of America, -- the ill-clothed, ill-housed, ill-fed -- criticized on the ground that I was saying something derogatory. I have been telling the truth and you good people have sustained me by that statement that more than half the children of America are living in families that do not have enough money to provide fully adequate shelter, food, clothing, medical care and educational opportunity. Why should not we admit it? By admitting it we are saying we are going to improve things.

Yes, and you are rightly concerned that provision be made for those who are unemployed, whether for economic or personal reasons. To keep families from starving while the fathers walk the streets in vain in search for jobs will not give children the best start in life.

Social insurance to provide against total loss of income, and appropriate work projects adjusted to fluctuations in private employment and both urban and rural needs, constitute the first lines of defense against family disaster.

And I am glad of what has been said tonight about urban problems. I think my very good old friend, the Mayor of New York, would not mind my telling a story of what happened up at Hyde Park last autumn. He was up there, lunching with us. We had a big lunch, eighteen or twenty people, and we were talking about the problem of distribution of population in the United States. Well, that is an old thing that I have been sort of "hobbying" about for a great many years, twenty or thirty years. And I talked about the problem of overcrowding the cities. I talked about whether it was a good thing, with a big question mark, about cities getting too big, the bigger cities getting still bigger, and whether we could not work on some plan for a greater decentralization of the population, the building up of the smaller communities. And then, as a sort of jest I said, "You know, Fiorello, I am going to say something awful that you won't agree with. I think your problem in New York City, with seven million men, women and children in it, is a bad one. I think that the problem of civilized life in a community of that size is almost too big a problem and I think that New York would be better off if it had six million people instead of seven."

And the Mayor of New York looked at me and he said, "Mr. President, I cannot agree." He said, "Mr. President, you are wrong." He said, "New York would be better off if it had 5 million people in it instead of 7."

And, by way of following up the same subject -- this is just purely from memory -- we were talking of conditions before the World War, somewhere around 1913 or 1914 when I was over here in the Navy Department - I read an extraordinarily interesting pamphlet which carried out the thought that you have heard tonight about rural populations. It was by a great French doctor who had made all kinds of examinations of records, vital statistics in half a dozen of the great cities of Europe, and he had come to the conclusion and had attempted to prove it by family statistics that any family that had been city-bred for three or four generations died out and that the only families in cities that survived were the families that had an influx of country blood every generation or two. Now, I do not know whether our modern medical friends will support that but at least it is something well worth our thinking about in terms of the America of the future.

You tell me, in effect, in this report what I have been talking about for many years, that we have been moving forward toward the objective of raising the incomes and the living conditions of the poorest portion of our population, that we have made some dent on the problem and that, most decidedly, we cannot stop and rest on our rather meager laurels.

Yes, I agree with you that public assistance of many kinds is necessary. But I suggest to you that the Federal treasury has a bottom to it, and that mere grants in aid constitute no permanent solution of the problem of our health, our education, or our children, but that we should address ourselves to two definite policies: First, to increase the average of incomes in the poorer communities and in the poorer groups, in the poorer areas of the nation and, secondly, that we should address ourselves to an insistence that in every community, in every state and the District of Columbia, they should pay taxes in accordance with ability to pay.

The Conference report, going on with this -- what shall I call it? -- Sears Roebuck catalogue -- and it is very educational to read a catalogue -- has called attention also to the need for continuing and expanding public and private housing programs if the families in the lowest income groups are to live in dwellings suitable for the raising of children.



Last April, to take another item, I referred to our concern for the children of the migratory families who have no settled place of abode. I spoke casually to the Press today about a study I am making. Up in the State of Washington we are spending a great many millions to harness the Columbia River, to put a great dam up there which will pump the water up onto a huge area of land capable of providing a living for 500 thousand people, irrigated land, today a desert, which can be made a garden with the process of modern science. Who ought to go there? Are we going to treat that, two years from now, just as we treat the average irrigation project? Will it be a contract with the Government to pay out the loan over a period of years on the basis -- first come, first served?

I have read a book; it is called "Grapes of Wrath" and there are 500,000 Americans that live in the covers of that book. I would like to see the Columbia Basin devoted to the care of 500,000 people represented in "Grapes of Wrath".

Migratory families, the situation of their children, children who have no homes, families who can put down no roots, cannot live in a community -- that calls for special consideration. But I am being practical. I am trying to find a place for them to go. This means, in its simplest terms, a program for the permanent resettlement of at least one million people in the Columbia Basin and a lot of other places. And remember that the money spent on it after careful planning is going to be returned to the United States Government many times over in a relatively short time.

To go on, your report has devoted many pages to family economics. I know very little about that -- my wife does. We all recognize that the spirit within the home is the most important influence in the growth of the child. In family life the child should first learn confidence in his own powers, respect for the feelings and the rights of others, the feeling of security and mutual good will and faith in God. Here he should find a common bond between the interests of the individual and the interests of the group. Mothers and fathers, by the kind of life they build within the four walls of the home, are largely responsible for the future social and public life of the country.

And, just as we cannot take care of the child apart from the family, so his welfare is bound up with a lot of other institutions that influence his development, -- the school, the church, the agencies that offer useful and happy activities and interests for leisure time. The work of all these institutions needs to be harmonized so as to give our children rounded growth with the least possible conflict and loss of effort. And the money and hard work that go into these public and private enterprises are, again, repaid many times.

And I think that religion, religion especially, helps children to appreciate life in its wholeness, to develop a deep sense of the sacredness of the human personality. In view of the estimate that perhaps one-half of the children of America are having no regular religious instruction, it seems to me important to consider how provision can best be made for some kind of religious training. We can do it because in this way we are capable of keeping in mind both the wisdom of maintaining the separation of Church and State and, at the same time, giving weight to the great importance of religion in personal and social living.

And I share with you the belief that fair opportunity for schooling ought to be available to every child in this country. I agree with you that no American child, merely because he happens to be born where property values are low and local taxes do not, even though they should, support the schools, should be placed at a disadvantage in his preparation for citizenship.



Certainly our future is endangered when nearly a million children of elementary school age are not in school; when thousands of school districts and even some entire States do not pay for good schools. This situation has been reported by many agencies, private and public, and, the way I have got it down here in my manuscript, needs to be more widely understood. That does not mean anything. What I really wanted to say is this: I would like to put on the front page of every newspaper in the United States, a list of the most backward school districts, the most backward school states in the United States.

That is rough treatment but if every person in the United States could know where the conditions are worst, -- education and health -- those areas would get the sympathy, the understanding and the help for improving those worst of conditions. And again, I have to suggest that the permanent answer is not mere handouts from the Federal Treasury but that the problem has to be solved by improving the economics in these poorer sections and an insistence, hand in hand with it, that there be adequate taxation in accordance with ability to pay.

We must plan also, on a larger scale, to give American children a chance for healthful play and worthwhile use of leisure. I agree with you that a democratic government has a vital interest in those matters. And I am glad that you have suggested a national commission, under private auspices, to study leisure-time needs and recreational resources.

More than in any previous decade we know how to safeguard the health of parents and children. Because of the advance of medical knowledge and the growth of public health work, we have it in our power to conquer diseases that we could not conquer ten years ago, and the ability to promote general good health.

New opportunities to us mean new duties. It was one thing to let people sicken and die when we were helpless to protect them. And it is quite another thing to leave a large portion of our population without care at all. It is my definite hope that within the next ten years every part of the country -- just to use an example -- and I believe that hope can be fulfilled -- every part of the United States will have complete and adequate service for all women during maternity and for all new-born infants. That we can do.

So, too, good nutrition is the basis of child health. And I am equally in sympathy with your suggestion that I appoint a National Nutrition Committee to review our present knowledge and to coordinate our efforts, looking toward the development of nutrition policies based on the newest and best methods, and we are making new discoveries every day.

You, all the members of the Conference, have charted a course, a course for ten years to come. Nevertheless, the steps that we take now, in this year of 1940, are going to determine how far we can go tomorrow, and in what direction.

I believe with you that if anywhere in the country any child lacks opportunity for home life, for health protection, for education, for moral or spiritual development, the strength of the Nation and its ability to cherish and advance the principles of democracy are thereby weakened.

I ask all our fellow citizens who are within the sound of my voice to consider themselves identified with the work of this Conference. I ask you all to study and discuss with friends and neighbors the program that it has outlined, to study how its objectives can be realized. May the security and the happiness of every boy and girl in our land be our concern, our personal concern, from now on.

You, the members of this Conference, this Conference on Children in a Democracy, you are leaders of a new American Army of peace.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
On the occasion of his 58th Birthday Anniversary  
At the White House, January 30, 1940

My hearty greetings to all the nation.

I wish that everybody within sound of my voice could capture something of the joy, the joy that I feel on this birthday. It is a joy whose keenness is enhanced because in the larger sense these far flung celebrations are wholly impersonal. At least, that is the way I like to view them.

A recent writer has put it (this way) very well.  
He wrote this:

"It is an expression of our greatest political asset -- the enormous fund of tolerance," of "good will, good humor and simple human kindness which underlies our public life.

"Here is no trace of partisanship, no taint of social disunity, of economic controversy. There is not any, (has) never" has "been, the slightest attempt to play politics with the various efforts -- The March of Dimes, the Birthday Balls -- to raise money for a worthy national purpose ....." and "so the effect of this great celebration is to keep political discussion and partisan passion within the bounds of that neighborly good temper, which is still the chief quality that distinguishes the American electorate from the political masses of the Old World.

"In sending a dime ..... and in dancing that

others may walk, we, the People are striking a powerful blow in defense of American freedom and " American "human decency. For the answer to class hatred," and "race hatred," and "religious hatred is not repression," or "criticism or opposition. The answer is the free expression of the love of our fellow men, which is the real thing we celebrate on January 30, 1940."

And this morning a very old friend of mine, a distinguished Justice, sent me a note of congratulation which embodied a new and, I think, a very useful thought for us grown-ups.

He said "The compassionate purpose to which our national tradition now dedicates this day has a profound symbolism. For in a way we are all crippled children. And we are the more poignant in our disabilities than the immediate beneficiaries because we think we are grown-up and big and strong, and yet are so often unhumorously immature and unequal to the tasks our times impose on us."

That is a nice thought because if as we (grow) older people get older we realize our inability to meet perfection, the happier we can and should be in everything that we do to make life a little better -- to use the vehicles of science and cooperation to improve the lot of those who need it most.

Today I think the nation as a whole is aware of and awake to the scourge of Infantile Paralysis. To mini-



mize its effects, to drive it out entirely in the long run, is, as you know, our primary purpose today.

But as the years go on I hope that these annual celebrations will extend that task, extend the task to the care of all crippled children, no matter what the cause of their crippling.

And what a magnificent task this is! More than twenty-five thousand parties being held today and tonight -- hundreds of thousands of devoted volunteer workers in state and county and city and hamlet. To all of them, of all ages and representing all callings, I tender my heart-felt thanks for what they have done.

To all who have helped through The March of Dimes and otherwise with generous donations, I am likewise grateful. Nor can I overlook the thousands of affectionate birthday cards and birthday messages which have so greatly gladdened my heart today.

I think I am safe in saying that no nation in the whole world has ever in all history put a larger volunteer army into the field on any given date than the army of Americans which tonight is taking part in the defense of American childhood.

During the World War we had nearly five million American men under arms. It is safe to estimate that at least four or five times as many Americans, men, (and) women and children, are enrolled in this new army which

has joined the march, the march to save life and not to take it.

It is in that magnificent spirit and with the definite knowledge that we are making sure and steady progress that I say to each and every one of you tonight -  
"Thank you, and God bless you."

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
On the occasion of the Thirtieth Anniversary  
Of the Boy Scouts of America  
The White House, February 8, 1940, 10.35 P. M.

FELLOW SCOUTS:

I greet you and the friends of scouting everywhere with especial pleasure on our thirtieth anniversary. For three decades in our American life, the record of the Boy Scouts has been one in which the people of the nation can take genuine, wholehearted satisfaction.

Through all these thirty years millions of American boys have found stirring and worthwhile adventure in scouting. They have also found an opportunity to exemplify through practical service to the community the loyalty and patriotism which are obligatory upon them as faithful scouts and true Americans.

I am glad to learn through President Head's report that we have gained not in numbers alone but in the effectiveness of our program and in the scope of our achievements. The theme of Boy Scout Week, "Scouting -- the American way," seems to me to have a particular significance at this time. Our Boy Scouts represent a cross section of all American boys, boys from large cities and from villages and farms, from seaport towns and from ranches, boys of all blood origins -- all enrolled under the banner of scouting. Moreover, our movement embraces all sects and creeds and is above all class or sectional consciousness. It is, in a word, democratic and therefore



truly American. God grant that it may ever remain so.

I like to think of Scouting as a kind of family group. This is as it should be, for the United States is a family nation. The family is the very base of our national life and the scouting movement does not take the individual away from it -- rather, it extends the spirit of the family into the activities of the boy outside the home. Our twelfth scout law effectively expresses the spiritual ideals of scouting. It constitutes, in other words, an excellent basis for citizenship. It affirms the importance of religion in the life of the individual and the life of the nation and emphasizes the necessity of respect for the convictions of other people.

Religious freedom is basic in Americanism. It is a tradition upon which our country is founded. A generation trained in the principles of the Scout oath and law cannot fail to be a generation trained in the responsibilities of good citizenship. And the United States is looked on as a young nation but in the spirit of social consciousness, which is (of) the very essence of the Scout ideal, our country is fully grown up.

After all, I am inclined to think that the individual Scout himself, as he engages in the activities of his Troop and Patrol and as he acquires the skills that equip him for service, speaks to us all in a convincing manner of the importance of scouting in the life of the

Nation today.

So now, as your Honorary President, I extend to you my hearty good wishes (and) my congratulations on your good record of the past year. For the years to come I wish you joy and happiness and deepening satisfaction in living up to the best traditions of scouting.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered from the South Portico of the White House  
To the Delegates of the  
National Citizenship Institute of the American Youth Congress  
February 10, 1940, 12.30 P. M.

(LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:)

FELLOW CITIZENS:

You who are attending this institute, whose primary aim is to obtain further knowledge of the democratic processes of American government, you are very welcome at the White House today. (Applause) The same welcome is open to all citizens, or prospective citizens, or junior citizens, all who believe in the form of government under which the United States has been living with reasonable success for more than a century and a half.

And I think that some of us have in the back of our heads the fact that if we had a different form of government this kind of a meeting on the White House lawn could not take place. In saying this I am not denying to you or anybody else in any way the rights of free assemblage, of free petition (and), of free speech -- nor am I precluding the right of any Americans, old people or young people, to advocate improvements and change in the operations of the Government of the United States on one very simple condition: that all of you conform to the constitutional processes of change and improvement (in) by the Constitution of the United States itself.

It is a good thing, it is a grand thing, that



you young people are interested enough in government to come to Washington for a Youth Citizenship Institute -- because one of the hardest problems today is the indifference of so many people to the details and the facts of the functioning of their own government.

I have said on many occasions that the greatest achievement of the past seven years in the United States has been not the saving of the nation from economic chaos, not the great series of laws to avert destitution and to improve our social standards, but that it has been the awakening of many millions of American men and women to an understanding of (the processes of) their own governments, local and state and federal. It is a fact that in every community, large and small, people are taking a greater interest in decent government, in forward-looking government than ever before and, incidentally, that the words of Lincoln in regard to fooling people are infinitely more true today than they were in the eighteen sixties.

(The) These past ten years have proved certain obvious facts -- some negative and some positive.

We know that the prosperity of the twenties -- and a good many of you remember them -- the prosperity of the twenties can properly be compared to the prosperity of the Mississippi bubble days before the bubble burst -- when everybody was money-mad, when the money changers owned the temple, when the nation as a whole forgot the restraint of

decent ethics and simple morals, and then the Government in Washington gave completely free rein to what they called individual liberty (and the), gave completely free rein to the virtual ownership of government itself by the so-called best minds, best minds which wholly controlled our finances and our economics and forgot our social problems. During those ten years you cannot find a single statute enacted for the restraint of excesses (nor for) enacted for the good, the betterment of the permanent security of the individual. That is a straight from the shoulder fact, the sad fact, which the American public fortunately has not forgotten.

It is also a simple straight fact that in 1930, (19)'31 and (19)'32, those years saw the collapse and the disintegration of the philosophy of the twenties, followed in February and the first three days of March, 1933, by an acknowledgment on the part of those who had been the leaders that they could no longer carry on.

And, just by way of further illustration of the fact that we have been making progress since those dark days -- not as great progress, of course, as we want or seek, but just by way of illustration -- let me repeat certain comparisons that I gave the other day at a Press Conference, comparisons between 1932 and 1939. (Last Monday at a Press Conference I repeated certain comparisons between 1932 and 1939). These facts were misstated

and twisted by many newspapers and by some politicians seeking office. Because of this and because I am on a national hook-up, I repeat the figures. (Laughter - applause)

Well, let us see, the national income from all sources has increased from forty billion dollars in (19)'32 to sixty-eight and (one) a half billion dollars in (19)'39 -- in other words, plus 71%.

Wages and salaries have increased from two billion four hundred million (dollars) in December (19)'32 to three billion eight hundred and eighty-eight million dollars in December (19)'39 -- plus 62%.

Weekly factory payrolls increased from eighty million dollars in December (19)'32 to (one) a hundred and ninety-seven million dollars in December (19)'39 -- plus 145%.

Cash farm income increased from four billion seven (hundred million dollars) in (the year 19) '32 to seven billion seven (hundred million dollars) in (the year 19)'39. And with the addition of farm benefit payments of over eight hundred million (dollars), to a total of eight and a half billion dollars -- or 82%.

Dividends of corporations -- most of you, most of us do not get many of them but never mind -- dividends of corporations that were received by individuals increased from two billion seven hundred and fifty million dollars in '32 to four billion two hundred and fifty million



dollars in '39 -- plus 55%

Now, it is true that our population has gone up since that time six or seven per cent (since 1932), but where twenty-seven million people were employed in non-agricultural pursuits in December, (19)'32, thirty-five million people were similarly employed in (19)'39 -- a gain of 28%.

You have heard of certain local or special opposition to our foreign trade policy -- listen to this: Our exports -- that means goods that we made and sold outside the country -- our exports for the year (19)'32 were worth a billion six hundred million. But in (19)'39 they (were worth) had gone up to nearly three billion two hundred million -- an increase of 97%.

I am repeating these figures on the air because not one citizen in a hundred read them in the papers last Tuesday morning.

Furthermore, as I remarked last Monday (that), interest received by individuals -- that does not mean wages or salaries, it means interest on loans; this past year, in 1939, interest so received had gone down nine per cent (was 9% less than it had been in 1932) since (19)'32. Now, I am proud of that -- because it means that the exorbitant interest rates on mortgages and on loans of all kinds in 1932 have, because of federal action, been reduced to a lower rate (and), a more humane rate to people who had to borrow money for themselves individually or for themselves as

participants in many varieties of business, and that is some achievement.

And, finally, I said last Monday -- and this was the part that was most seriously mangled (and garbled) by certain types of papers and certain types of politicians -- I said that the total debt of all of the people of the United States -- private debt, state debt (and), local government debt(s), and the (debt of the) Federal Government debt was less in 1939 than it was in 1932. That is a simple fact -- somewhere around two billion dollars less -- and that in the face of an increase of our population of six or seven million people. (in a nation which has six or seven million people more in it than eight years ago.)

Why am I giving you all these figures? First, to remove fears -- fears which are subtly instilled in your minds by a propaganda of which you are well aware. The other day I saw an old friend, a little younger than I am, but not much, but who was born, if you like, with a silver spoon in his mouth; moving, if you like, in so-called social circles, but, nevertheless, a decent citizen who, while he has never held public office, has tried, I think with some success, to understand the tendencies of the times, and he said this to me, he said: "I have come to the conclusion that there is no use in my trying to argue with certain types of the older generation because all they do is to hope, hope that some miracle will restore the

period of thirty years ago, a period when they did not have to think about social problems; a period when taxes on the very rich were comparatively low; a period when (nobody was) none of them were worrying about social security or the getting of jobs, or organized labor, or wages and hours, or the supervision of security offerings, or the regulation of the management of banks." (He said) And he went on to say: "I am past fifty but I recognize full well that those days, thank God, will never come again -- and furthermore, that a great majority of the people today who want to see a liberal administration of government turned out and replaced by a conservative administration (of government) are really wishing deep down in their hearts for a return of the old social and economic philosophy of 1910."

And now (a) some words of warning or perhaps I should say of suggestion. The first is this: You good people, I am afraid, are getting pretty wet in this rain and I hope very much that before your afternoon session your officers will give you a chance to go back to your rooms and if you have not got a spare change with you, to get off what you have got on and get it dried, because there is one thing we do not want out of this fine conference and that is any cases of pneumonia. Here are some more suggestions to you who are voters and (you) who will soon be voters: (-- several words of warning.)

Don't seek or expect Utopia overnight. Don't



seek or expect a panacea -- (a grand) some wonderful new law that will give (you) to everybody who needs it a handout -- or a guarantee of permanent remunerative occupation of your own choosing. I told one of your members a couple of weeks ago, somewhat to his surprise, that ever since I became Governor of New York in 1929, I have been receiving in every mail (a) some sincere, honest proposal (of) for some panacea (one of them, two of them, three of them every day). I have been receiving them one a day or two a day or three a day ever since. Now, (these) those plans have not been put in the wastebasket -- they have been subjected to the closest scrutiny by honest liberals who have hoped that somebody, somewhere would hit on something that would save us all a lot of time and a lot of worry. (It is clear that no such plan exists). I am afraid that so far, after these twelve years, that no such plan has come forth yet.

Take, for example, the question of the employment of old people and the employment of young people. You young people must remember that the problem of the older workers in America is just as difficult as yours -- that when people slow up, when they have reached the age when one can reasonably expect no great improvement (or), no great new imagination in their work, (they) those people find it very difficult to get a job. We have not solved the problem of older people and yet the solution (of that problem is) seems to me to be evolutionary and that evolu-

tion is doing pretty well. We have made beginnings with the Old Age Pension Act, but we know (that) it is only a beginning and that through the next ten or twenty years (the) that system must be greatly extended and greatly improved. Ham and eggs, and other plans (will not) won't do it because they are all open to the simple objection that they either provide for printing (so much paper) a lot of paper called money that the money, if you print too much of it, would soon be worthless or (that) they are based on some plan by which the whole burden would be placed on the shoulders of the younger workers.

In the case of jobs for (you) young people, let me make it very clear in the beginning that it is not at all certain that your opportunities for employment are (any) much worse today than they were for young people ten years or twenty years or thirty years ago. There were problems then, just as there are today, but people did not understand them and under the kind of conservative government that we were having so often in those days, the problems never got a chance to be stated to the American people. The problem of jobs for young people is vastly more difficult than it was (one) a hundred years ago because in 1840 the great open spaces of the West were crying aloud for willing hands -- but today (the physical frontiers are gone) those western frontiers are pretty well filled up.

Yes, you and I have a very distinct problem.

For instance, you and I know that industrial production calls for fewer hands per unit because of the improvement of machinery. I have given you the figures showing that weekly payrolls in this country are 145% bigger today than they were in December, (19)'32. That does not mean that 145% more people are employed. Obviously not. Fewer people are needed to produce the same volume of goods. And one of the things that disturbs me greatly, just as it disturbs you, is that in the present pickup of industry, it is too often cheaper for (most) factory managers to work people overtime, even at time and a half or double pay, than it is to put on an extra shift.

That is something that we have got to tackle,  
that problem in these coming years. (This) It means, in effect, that we have not yet found the method of spreading employment to more people when good times come.

It means, too, that we have not yet eliminated the terrific peaks and valleys of production and consumption. We have made (definite) gains. We hope and believe that we have found the way to prevent, for example, a recurrence of the collapse that took place from the high point of (19)'29 to the low point of February, (19)'33. We have not stopped the swing of the pendulum but we believe we have greatly circumscribed the width of (that) the swing from one extreme to the other. That means more



permanence of employment.

Therefore, I suggest again that on social and economic matters you and I are substantially in agreement as to the objective but that there are some of you who think that that objective can be (gained) obtained overnight. I don't. I do believe, however, that all of us can make definite strides toward that objective if we retain a government which believes in the objective(s), believes in it wholeheartedly and which is bent on working towards it as fast as the people of this country as a whole will let us. That in the long run is a reaffirmation of our faith in democracy.

One final word (of warning): Do not as a group pass resolutions on subjects which you have not thought through and on which you cannot possibly have complete knowledge. This business of passing resolutions at Conventions of Patriotic Societies, of Chambers of Commerce, of Manufacturers' Associations, of Peace Societies, yes, and of Youth Congresses is a perfectly legitimate American habit just as it is a fact that there are many thousands, a great many thousands of organizations for almost every conceivable objective, organizations which are kept going, unwittingly on the part of most of the members, in order that some Executive Secretary(ies), Legislative agent(s) (and) or some other officer(s) may find so-called useful employment. Hence the flood of

lobbyists in Washington, of special counsel, drawing big pay for doing nothing at all, of hired writers, (which) people who literally infest(s) the halls of the Congress (and the ante-rooms of) and all the agencies of the Executive Branch of the Government today. And I am not forgetting some of the visitors who come to see the President himself.

I have in mind the type of organization (which) that passes resolutions on some form, some matter of the utmost complexity -- in the field, for example, of national defense or international economics -- some situation on which there may be not two opinions but a dozen, some situation on which the policy of the moment must be formed by those who have given deep study to every phase of the problem. Such a decision ought not to be influenced by any gathering of old people or young people, or anybody else, local or national, which gets a smattering of the subject from two or three speakers, who themselves have but a smattering of the (necessary knowledge) subject themselves.

One of the big local American Youth Congress Councils, I am told, took a decisive stand against the granting of (American loans to Finland) some form of aid, by loan or otherwise, by America to Finland, -- did that, not on the ground that we ought to spend the money here among our own needy unemployed, but on the ground that such action was "an attempt to force America into (the) an

imperialistic war." My friends, that reason(ing) was unadulterated twaddle, unadulterated twaddle, based perhaps on sincerity, but, at the same time, on ninety per cent ignorance of what they were talking about.

I can say this to you with a smile because many of you will recognize the inherent wisdom and truth of what I am saying. Here is a small Republic in northern Europe, a Republic which, without any question what(so)ever, wishes solely to maintain its own territorial and governmental integrity. Nobody with any pretense (at) of common sense believes that Finland had any ulterior designs on the integrity or the safety of the Soviet Union.

That American sympathy is ninety-eight per cent with the Finns in their effort to stave off invasion of their own soil (is by now), that American sympathy by now is axiomatic. That America wants to help them by lending or giving money to them to save their own lives is also axiomatic (by now) today. That the Soviet Union would, because of this, declare war on the United States is about the (most absurd) silliest thought that I have ever heard advanced in the fifty-eight years of my life. And that we are going to war ourselves with the Soviet Union is an equally silly thought. And, therefore, while I have not the slightest objection in the world to the passing of (futile) resolutions by conventions, I do think (that) there is room for improvement in commonsense think-



ing and definite room for improvement in the art of not passing resolutions concerning things one (knows very little about) does not know everything about.

And so I suggest that all of you can smile with me on this subject but please do not pass resolutions of that kind again (and -- don't do it again.)

More than twenty years ago, while most of you were (very) pretty young children, I had the utmost sympathy for the Russian people. In the early days of Communism I recognized that many leaders in Russia were bringing education and better health and, above all, better opportunity to millions who had been kept in ignorance and serfdom under the imperial regime. I disliked the regimentation (under) of Communism. I abhorred the indiscriminate killings of thousands of innocent victims. I heartily deprecated the banishment of religion -- though I knew that (before long) some day Russia would return to religion for the simple reason that four or five thousand years of recorded history have proved (that) to mankind that mankind has always believed in God in spite of (dozens of) many abortive attempts to exile God. (Applause)

And I, with many of you, hoped that Russia would work out its own problems and that their government would eventually become a peace-loving, popular government (which) with a free ballot, a government that would not interfere with the integrity of its neighbors.

That hope is today either shattered or is put away in storage against (a) some better day. The Soviet Union, as a matter of practical fact, as everybody knows and has got the courage to face the fact, the practical fact that is known to you and known to all the world, is run by a dictatorship, a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world. It has allied itself with another dictatorship and it has invaded a neighbor so infinitesimally small that it could do no (injury) conceivable possible harm to the Soviet Union, (and) a small nation that seeks only to live at peace as a democracy, and a liberal, forward-looking democracy at that.

It has been said that some of you are Communists. That is (an) a very unpopular term (these days) today. As Americans you have a right, a legal and constitutional right, to call yourselves Communists, those of you who do. You have a right peacefully and openly to advocate certain ideals of theoretical Communism: but as Americans you have not only a right but a sacred duty to confine your advocacy of changes in law to the methods prescribed by the Constitution of the United States -- and you have no American right, by act or deed of any kind, to subvert the Government and the Constitution of this Nation. (Applause)

That, I am confident, receives the overwhelming support of the great majority of your organization and of every other (large) organization of American youth. The

things you and I represent are essentially the same and it will be your task, when I am gone from the scene, to carry on the fight for a continuance of liberal government, an improvement of its methods and the effectiveness of its work. Above all, we must help those who have proved that they will try everlastingly to make things a little bit better for the people of our Nation with each succeeding year. And so I say to you, keep your ideals high, keep both feet on the ground and keep everlastingly at it.

(Applause)



SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT  
At close of Cruise aboard United States Ship TUSCALOOSA  
February 29, 1940

Introduction by Captain Harry A. Badt, U. S. Navy  
Commanding Officer, U. S. S. TUSCALOOSA:

"Mr. President, it is always a pleasure to have you on the TUSCALOOSA. We are all sorry to see you leave tomorrow, but we are hoping that you will make another cruise with us soon and the officers and men of the TUSCALOOSA all want to wish you continued good health."

THE PRESIDENT:

Captain Badt, officers and men of the TUSCALOOSA: I suppose very few of you on our previous cruise up in the foggy waters of Newfoundland realized how close we were at that time to pretty serious conditions that might affect the lives of all of us during those last two nights, or rather three nights, up off the coast of Nova Scotia. I was getting, as some of you know, radio messages from the State Department and from Europe, that made it pretty clear that there was going to be another World War, in fact I felt so even before I came on board for that cruise, even though some very wise members of the United States Senate thought they had better information than I had.

Well, so here we are again in a far different latitude, in whites, and seeing a new part of the world for some of us, and again we can't tell, any of us, just what the future will bring forth, but one thing I am very certain of is that this war in Europe has taught the United States Navy a lot of lessons. We had to learn lessons in the past few months and I know all of

us agree that we hope, as every other American does, that this war is not going to come to our side of the ocean. If the turn of the wheel should bring war close to the United States, the United States Navy is ready to meet it, and I am mighty proud, as all of you know, of the Navy, and I think even General Watson is proud of the Navy, just as we say to him we are mighty proud of what the Army is doing down in the Canal. The TUSCALOOSA is going down through history as the ship that brought Columbus back on the map, and I believe that these things generally go by three's. I have had two very wonderful cruises on the TUSCALOOSA and I hope for a third this coming summer if the international situation makes it possible for me to venture more than a few miles from the coast.

I hope you have a mighty good overhaul period, and by the time you come out of overhaul I will be ready to go into overhaul with you.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
In connection with the Anniversary Farm Dinners  
Delivered from the White House  
March 8, 1940, 10.00 P. M., E. S. T.

As I listened to the remarks of Henry Wallace and Jim Farley just now, and in my mind's eye saw the hundreds of groups of farmers and their friends meeting throughout the country, my memory went back to scenes of other years.

I remembered the day in September, 1932, when, at Topeka, Kansas, under the very hot sun and, my, it was a hot sun that beat down on the steps of the State Capitol, I talked with an audience of farmers about the farm problem. I gave them my pledge that, if I were called to serve in the White House, I would take the lead in action, action to reverse the process of agricultural decay which had been eating at our national foundations for many years.

And I have sought consistently and constantly to keep that pledge. Four days after I took office in 1933 -- while the banks of the country were still closed and we were (sternly) still wrestling with the question of how to get them open again -- I called the conference of farmers and leaders of farm organizations to which Secretary Wallace has referred. Seven years ago tonight, March 8, 1933, (the) that call went out to farm leaders by wire and by telephone to come here and convene here in Washington on March tenth.

Well do I remember (the) that historic conference at the White House that followed. In that grave emergency, past disagreements were forgotten and all the farm groups



quickly united on a new farm plan.

The adoption of that plan in its essential outlines by the Congress marked a far-reaching decision in our national life. We stopped asking agriculture to pay the bill for industry's high tariff. We decided that as a nation we would no longer promote commerce and industry at the expense of agriculture. We decided that as a nation we would abandon the policy of rural neglect.

That old policy of neglect had brought ten years of depression on our farms and had contributed greatly to depression in the cities as well. It had hastened the bank panic which in February and (early) March of 1933 had paralyzed (business) industry and farming itself all over the United States.

In the seven years that have elapsed since that time, the national farm program has properly undergone a continual evolution. That first piece of legislation -- the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 -- was a long step forward, but, of course, it was not perfect. And as the years went by, weather conditions changed, and market conditions changed -- yes, and even court conditions changed. So the provisions of the farm program have been correspondingly changed to keep the program more up-to-date.

We have learned from experience, and have gradually adapted the program more and more closely to the needs of the individual farmer, to the needs of the nation, (and) to the needs of the land itself. We realized that we had reached

our last frontier of new lands -- and that we had no choice but to conserve and rebuild our existing soil.

All through these seven years, one fundamental feature has run like a thread through the successive adjustment and conservation and ever-normal granary programs. And that is the essential policy of localized control, with the program run by committees of farmers elected by farmers -- and that goes for farmers regardless of what party they happen to be enrolled in.

Experience has amply borne out the wisdom of the safeguards with which those county associations and committees were surrounded. In three thousand counties -- practically all of the counties of the nation (which) that are not occupied wholly by cities -- they win respect and, incidentally, they deserve respect. None but those farmer committeemen themselves will ever know how they have sweated over details of the program, how they have sacrificed their own personal interests and their leisure as they spent thousands of hours and drove thousands of miles to make the program succeed.

Back of these committeemen, helping them in their work, giving support to the program, have been some of the great general farm organizations. Not only in the farm communities, but right here in Washington, these organizations have helped to shape and perfect the successive farm laws.

When we launched the national farm program seven years ago, we hoped that recovery in the United States would be accompanied by a great revival of our trade with other

countries.

I wish I could tell you tonight that the whole world had been restored to (prosperity and) friendly commerce. I wish I could tell you that the markets which your fathers and grandfathers once enjoyed were again open to receive more of your wheat, your pork, your lard, your cotton, your tobacco, your fruit.

I can tell you this -- that we have done many things (which) that have helped the situation. Through our reciprocal trade program, we have tried to spread our good-neighbor philosophy through many nations of the world. I always prefer understatement to overstatement and so I can properly say that. That program has brought results -- results not only in better markets for our industrial goods but also in better markets for our farm goods -- results which are mathematically proved in terms of pounds and in terms of bushels and in terms of dollars and cents. If Congress consents, we shall continue that useful work.

But in spite of all we have done to help preserve and restore peace in the world, the bitter truth is that the world is not at peace. As I speak to you tonight, guns are thundering on the battlefields of Europe and of Asia. Ships that ply the seas are exposed to the hazards of bomb and torpedo.

In the midst of a world at war, we find that the foreign commerce we had managed to achieve is rudely disturbed. Some people may say,, What of that? Does not our domestic



trade comprise 90 per cent of all our business? Yes, that is true for the nation as a whole. But, for some (industries) of our business, export trade accounts for considerably more than 10 per cent of all sales. In agriculture, for example, that is true of cotton and tobacco and apples and lard and wheat and many other products. And all agriculture is certain to be seriously affected if our export markets disappear(s).

So it is more than ever important for farmers to have a government in Washington that is looking out for their interests -- not just by uttering glittering generalities but by specific policies and concrete action. It is more than ever important to maintain a national farm program that can be adapted to meet whatever emergencies arise -- whether they are emergencies of drought or of lost markets overseas. It is more than ever important to have a government in Washington that can act to protect the interests of our farmers as well as our business men when foreign trade conditions are upset.

In Europe economic failure has led in some lands to dictatorship. In America we are using the tools of democracy to make our economic system efficient, to preserve our freedom, and to keep away even from any talk of dictatorship. The national farm program is American democracy's response to agricultural distress. And any unprejudiced person who knows anything about the subject not only admits but proclaims the fact that our national farm program was democratically conceived and is being democratically conducted with the active help of our farmers themselves.

Furthermore, they proclaim what they know -- that their Federal Government counts on farm aid and farm advice to improve that program through the process of actual experience as the need arises. That I call a truly democratic process of Government.

These are troubled times we of this generation are living through. Some of us, I know, are tempted to give way to doubt and fear, even to despair.

But when we are beleaguered by thoughts like these, let us remember how the nation has come through its dark hours of the past, and take courage. Think of John Adams and Jefferson and Madison, as they guided the nation through the confusion of the Wars of the Napoleonic period, with ships rotting at the docks (and) with millions of dollars of farm products stored on the wharves of the Atlantic seaboard. Think of Lincoln as year after war-torn year he sheltered in his great heart the truest aspirations of a country rent in twain.

We believe our beloved United States will come through all its trials and tribulations of the present. Ever since 1929, the people of the United States have demonstrated pretty well the stuff of which they are made.

One of the reasons we know we shall win through is the national farm program, the inception of which you are commemorating tonight. (The) That farm program is a splendid example of what 6,000,000 American families can do, when they have the will and the leadership to do it.

The farmers have had a long hard struggle to get laws and programs which give them an opportunity to obtain economic and social justice, to make it possible for them to conserve the good earth which, next to our people and our tradition of freedom, is our greatest heritage.

I am happy in the thought that American farmers have gone part way along that road to economic and social justice, even though they have not reached the goal. I am happy in the thought that the American farmers understand full well that other great groups, such as industrial and retail groups in the cities, great and small, such as the small business men of the nation, have not yet attained the goal of social and economic justice even though in these seven years they have made undisputed progress toward it.

Many years ago I was told by men of experience in state and national affairs that American farmers could never agree on a program. I did not share that pessimistic belief. My friends and I went out to disprove it and the farmers of America showed clearly that we were right. To them go the honor and the glory.

In the spirit of progressive action that has animated and now animates these American farm families, all of us tonight can face with confidence whatever difficulties the future may hold.



HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

March 16, 1940

The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House in connection with the Christian Foreign Service Convocation, Saturday, March 16, 1940, is for release in edition of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 3:12 P. M., E.S.T., today.

1445

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

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Before the advent of the Christian era, messengers and missionaries had traveled throughout the known world -- they were commonly traders or soldiers seeking advantage for themselves, or agents of conquerors carrying notice of invasion to come.

When the Apostles and Disciples of Christ crossed into Macedonia and visited one after another the countries of the Western world, they wrote a new chapter in human relations -- for they carried for the first time a message of brotherhood, of faith and good-will and peace among men.

Since those days the ideal of a peaceful world brotherhood has made glorious advances -- for that ideal is not confined to the followers of the Christian faith but has been accepted as a part of the philosophy of other great religions -- some of them older than Christianity and some more recent.

But the advance has not been in a straight line. It has met with serious reverses which have taken years and even centuries to offset. Nomad tribes from eastern Europe and western Asia required centuries of assimilation before they could understand the gospel of brotherhood. The early feudal days set castle against castle in thousands of tiny wars and slaughters and slavery which ended only in the setting up of governments able to maintain peace within their borders.

Today we seem once more to be in a temporary era where organized force is seeking to divide men and nations from one another. That is why it is right and proper to call together the representatives of the great religious bodies which seek not to divide but to unite men and nations in the old message of brotherhood and good-will.

In dark days of the past that ideal has been saved in the long run by splendid efforts to maintain it in the minds and hearts of the average citizens in all nations.

Today we seek a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a real peace if it fails to recognize brotherhood. It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. It cannot be a sound peace if small nations must live in fear of powerful neighbors. It cannot be a moral peace if freedom from invasion is sold for tribute. It cannot be an intelligent peace if it denies free passage to that knowledge of those ideals which permit men to find common ground. It cannot be a righteous peace if worship of God is denied.

On these fundamentals the world did not have a true peace in those years between the ending of the World War and the beginning of present wars.

The band of missionaries whom you now meet to honor understood this well. They permitted no threat to the integrity or the institutions of the nations in which they worked. They sought to promote an international order based on human justice.

The active search for peace which the early Christians preached meant meeting and overcoming those forces in the world which had set themselves against the brotherhood of man and which denied the equality of souls before the throne of God. In those olden days they faced apparently unconquerable force -- and yet were victorious.

I offer my greetings to you as a congregation of faith, in the certainty that you will help to keep alive that spirit of kindness and faith which is the essence of civilization. I am confident of your ultimate triumph; for the ideals of justice, kindness, brotherhood and faith cannot die. These are the highest of human ideals. They will be defended and maintained. In their victory the whole world stands to gain; and the fruit of it is peace.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS  
Delivered in Person to the Joint Assembly  
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.  
May 16, 1940, 1.00 P. M., E. S. T.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND  
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

(TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

These are ominous days -- days whose swift and shocking developments force every neutral nation to look to its defenses in the light of new factors. The brutal force of modern offensive war has been loosed in all its horror. New powers of destruction, incredibly swift and deadly, have been developed; and those who wield them are ruthless and daring. No old defense is so strong that it requires no further strengthening and no attack is so unlikely or impossible that it may be ignored.

Let us examine, without self-deception, the dangers which confront us. Let us measure our strength and our defense without self-delusion.

The clear fact is that the American people must recast their thinking about national protection.

Motorized armies can now sweep through enemy territories at the rate of two hundred miles a day. Parachute troops are dropped from airplanes in large numbers behind enemy lines. Troops are landed from planes in open fields, on wide highways, and at local civil airports.

We have seen the treacherous use of the "fifth column" by (which) persons supposed to be peaceful visitors, persons who were actually a part of an enemy unit of occupation.



Lightning attacks, capable of destroying airplane factories and munition works hundreds of miles behind the lines, are a part of the new technique of modern war.

The element of surprise which has ever been an important tactic in warfare has become the more dangerous because of the amazing speed with which modern equipment can reach and attack the enemy's country.

Our own vital interests are widespread. More than ever the protection of the whole American Hemisphere against invasion or control or domination by non-American nations has the united support of the twenty-one American Republics, including the United States. (Applause) And more than ever in the past this protection calls for ready-at-hand weapons capable of great mobility because of the potential speed of modern attack.

Let me analyze for a moment. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were reasonably adequate defensive barriers when fleets under sail could move at an average speed of five miles an hour. Even (then) in those days by a sudden foray it was possible for an opponent actually to burn our national Capitol. Later, the oceans still gave strength to our defense when fleets and convoys propelled by steam could sail the oceans at fifteen or twenty miles an hour.

But the new element -- air navigation -- steps up the speed of possible attack to two hundred, to three hundred miles an hour.

Furthermore, it brings the new possibilities of the

use of nearer bases from which an attack or attacks on the American Continents could be made. From the fiords of Greenland it is 4 hours by air to Newfoundland; 5 hours to Nova Scotia, to New Brunswick (and), to the Province of Quebec; and only 6 hours to New England.

The Azores are only 2,000 miles from parts of our eastern seaboard and if Bermuda fell into hostile hands it (is) would be a matter of less than 3 hours for modern bombers to reach our shores.

From a base in the outer West Indies, the coast of Florida could be reached in 200 minutes.

The islands off the west coast of Africa are only 1,500 miles from Brazil. Modern planes starting from the Cape Verde Islands can be over Brazil in 7 hours.

And Para, Brazil, near the mouth of the Amazon River, is but 4 flying hours to Caracas, Venezuela; and Venezuela is but 2½ hours to Cuba and the Canal Zone; and Cuba and the Canal Zone are 2½ hours to Tampico, Mexico; and Tampico is 2½ hours to St. Louis, Kansas City and Omaha.

On the other side of the continent, Alaska, with a white population of only 30,000 people, is within 4 or 5 hours of flying distance to Vancouver, Seattle, Tacoma, (and) Portland. The islands of the southern Pacific are not too far removed from the west coast of South America to prevent them from becoming bases of enormous strategic advantage to attacking forces.

Surely, the developments of the past few weeks have

made it clear to all of our citizens that the possibility of attack on vital American zones ought to make it essential that we have the physical, the ready ability to meet those attacks and to prevent them from reaching their objectives.

This means military implements -- not on paper -- military instruments which are ready and available to meet any lightning offensive against our American interest. It means also that facilities for production must be ready to turn out munitions and equipment at top speed.

We have had the lesson before us over and over again -- nations that were not ready and were unable to get ready found themselves overrun by the enemy. So-called impregnable fortifications no longer exist. A defense which allows an enemy to consolidate his approach without hindrance will lose. A defense which makes no effective effort to destroy the lines of supplies and communications of the enemy will lose.

An effective defense by its very nature requires the equipment to attack (an) the aggressor on his route before he can establish strong bases within the territory of American vital interests. (Applause)

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Loose talking and loose thinking on the part of some may give the false impression that our own American Army and Navy are not first-rate, or that money has been wasted on them.

Nothing could be further from the truth. (Applause)

Here are the facts: In recent years the defensive



power of our Army, Navy and Marine Corps (has) have as you know been (very) greatly improved.

The Navy is stronger today than at any time in the nation's history. Today also a large program of new construction is well under way. Ship for ship, ours are equal to, or better than, the vessels of any foreign power. (Applause)

And the Army likewise -- this may not be known but it is a fact -- is today at its greatest peace-time strength in all our history. Its equipment in quality and quantity has been greatly increased and improved.

The National Guard and the reserve strength of the two Services are better equipped and better prepared than during any other peace-time period.

On the other side of the picture we must visualize the outstanding fact that since the first day of September, 1939, every week that has passed has brought new lessons learned from actual combat on land and sea.

I cite examples. Where naval ships have operated without adequate protection by defending aircraft, their vulnerability to air attack has of course increased. All nations are hard at work studying the need of additional anti-aircraft protection.

Several months ago the use of a new type of magnetic mine made many unthinking people believe that all surface ships were doomed. Within a few weeks a successful defensive device against (these) those mines was placed in operation; and it is a fact that the sinkings of merchant ships by torpedo,

by mine (or) and by airplane are definitely much lower than during the similar period in 1916.

Combat conditions have changed even more rapidly in the air. With the amazing progress in the design of planes and engines, the airplane of a year ago is out-of-date now. It is too slow, it is improperly protected, it is too weak in gun power.

In types of planes, we are not behind the other nations of the world. Many of the planes of the belligerent powers are at this moment not of the latest models. But one belligerent power not only has many more planes than all their opponents combined, but also appears to have a weekly production capacity at the moment that is far greater than that of all their opponents.

From the point of view of our own defense, therefore, great additional production capacity is our principal air requisite.

For the permanent record, I ask the Congress not to take any action which would in any way hamper or delay the delivery of American-made planes to foreign nations which have ordered them, or seek to purchase (more) new planes. (Applause) That, from the point of view of our own national defense, would be extremely shortsighted.

During the past year American production capacity for war planes, including engines, has risen from approximately 6,000 planes a year to a good deal more than double that number, due in greater part to the placing of foreign orders here.

Our immediate problem is to superimpose on this production capacity a greatly increased additional production capacity. (Applause) I should like to see this nation geared up to the ability to turn out at least 50,000 planes a year. (Prolonged applause) (Furthermore) Yes, and I go further, I believe that this nation should plan at this time a program that would provide us with 50,000 military and naval planes. (Applause)

The ground forces of the Army, they require the immediate speeding up of last winter's program to procure more equipment of all kinds, including motor transport and artillery, tanks, (including) anti-aircraft guns and full ammunition supplies. (Applause) As you know, it had been planned to spread these requirements over the next (three) two or (four) three years. We should fill them at once. (Applause)

And so at this time I am asking the Congress immediately to (appropriation by the Congress of) appropriate a large sum of money for four primary purposes:

First, to procure the essential equipment of all kinds for a larger and thoroughly rounded-out Army;

Second, to replace or modernize all old Army and Navy equipment with the latest type of equipment;

Third, to increase production facilities for everything needed for the Army and Navy for national defense. (Applause) For it is clear that we require the ability to turn out quickly infinitely greater supplies;

(Fourth, to speed up to a twenty-four hour basis all existing Army and Navy contracts, and all new contracts to be awarded.)



I ask, I ask for an immediate appropriation of \$896,000,000. (divided approximately as follows:) And may I say that I hope there will be speed in giving the appropriation. (Applause).

That sum of \$896,000,000 of appropriation I would devote approximately as follows:

- (1.) For the Army..... \$546,000,000
- (2.) For the Navy and Marine Corps 250,000,000
- (3.) To the President to provide  
for emergencies affecting the  
national security and defense 100,000,000 (Applause)

And in addition to the above sum of appropriations,  
I ask for authorizations for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps to make contract obligations in the further sum of . \$186,000,000

And to the President (an) for additional authorizations to make contract obligations (for)..... 100,000,000

(The) Or a total of authorizations (is, therefore,) of..... \$286,000,000

And it is my belief that a large part of the requested appropriation of \$100,000,000 and the requested authorization of \$100,000,000 to the President will be used principally for the increase of production of airplanes, anti-aircraft guns, and the training of additional personnel for (these) those weapons. (Applause) (This) And may I point out that these requests for appropriations and authorizations would of course be in addition to the direct estimates for these purposes in the other items that are requested.

The proposed details of the appropriations and authorizations asked for will be given to the Committees of

the Congress.

(These) The estimates do not, of course, duplicate any item now in the pending War and Navy appropriation bills for the fiscal year 1941. Nor do they include supplemental or deficiency estimates which may become necessary by reason of pending legislation or shortage of funds under existing legal programs.

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There are some who say that democracy cannot cope with the new techniques of government developed in recent years by (a few) some countries -- by a few countries which deny the freedoms (which) that we maintain are essential to our democratic way of life. (This) That I reject. (Applause)

I know, I know that our trained officers and men know more about fighting (and the), know more about weapons and the equipment needed for fighting than any of us laymen; and I have confidence (in them) in our officers and men. (Applause)

I know that to cope with present dangers we must be strong in heart and (hand) mind; strong in our faith -- strong in the faith in our way of living.

I, too, pray for peace -- that the ways of aggression and force may be banished from the earth -- but I am determined to face the fact realistically that this nation requires also a toughness of moral and physical fibre. Those qualities, I am convinced, the American people hold to a high degree. (Applause)

Our task is plain. The road we must take is clearly indicated. Our defenses must be invulnerable, our security absolute. But our defense, our defense as it was yesterday, or even as it is today, does not provide security against potential developments and dangers of the future.

Defense cannot be static. Defense must grow and change from day to day. Defense must be dynamic and flexible, an expression of the vital forces of the nation and of its resolute will to meet whatever challenge the future may hold. For these reasons, I need hardly assure you that after the adjournment of this session of the Congress, I will not hesitate to call the Congress into Special Session if at any time the situation of the national defense requires it. And the Congress, the Congress and the Chief Executive constitute a team where the defense of the land is concerned. (Prolonged applause - cheers)

Our ideal, yours and mine, the ideal of every man, woman and child in the country -- our objective is still peace -- peace at home and peace abroad. (Applause) Nevertheless, we stand ready not only to spend millions for defense but to give our service and even our lives for the maintenance of our American liberties. (Applause)

Our security is not a matter of weapons alone. The arm that wields them must be strong, the eye that guides them clear, the will that directs them indomitable.

These are the characteristics of a free people, a people devoted to the institutions they themselves have built,



a people willing to defend a way of life that is precious to them all, a people who put their faith in God. (Applause - cheers)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Before the Pan American Governing Board  
Pan American Union Building, Washington, D. C.  
April 15, 1940, 12.00 Noon, E. S. T.

GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS:

In the year 1890, on April fourteenth, and without any fanfare of trumpets, an Inter-American Conference unanimously adopted a resolution providing that "there shall be formed by the countries represented in this Conference an association under the title of the International Union of American Republics"

The tasks of (the) this new organization were simple. They were to collect and distribute commercial information, to publish a bulletin, to provide trade information and to carry forward the work of promoting sound business relations.

But behind these somewhat prosaic words there was the driving force of a great American conception, a conception which had been gathering headway for sixty years.

The ideal originated in the mind of Simon Bolivar; and a kindly history has preserved for us the draft that he had written in 1825, sketching his purpose and his objective.

His aim was peace for the Americas. His hope was that the American example might eventually give peace to the entire world. His plan was stated in a single, brilliant sentence: He said, "The New World takes shape in the form of independent nations, all joined by a common law which would control their foreign relations and would offer them the stabilizing force of a general and permanent Congress." The

result, as you know, the immediate result was the calling of the Conference of Panama in 1826.

At that time, well over a century ago, it took bold minds even to dream of universal peace. And yet, the Congress of Panama gave clear expression to precisely that aspiration. Before that time, there had been but two systems of peace known to the world. One of them had been the peace of universal conquest, which Rome had achieved and lost, and which Napoleon had vainly endeavored to imitate. And the other was the dangerous and as we know, the temporary peace of balance of power -- which even in 1826 was plainly no permanent solution.

At (the) this Congress of Panama in 1826, the American nations there assembled proclaimed the ideal of a new form of peace, a Cooperative Peace; the peace of free equals freely agreeing to settle whatever differences might arise among them by none but pacific means -- determined to cooperate with each other for the greater good of all of them.

Never before had any group of nations been asked to renounce the splendors of indefinite conquest, and to achieve their true grandeur by peaceful cooperation. And yet that was precisely what the Americas were considering at that time.

The dream of Bolivar was not realized at the Congress of Panama. But it did remain a hope and an inspiration. To the writers, to the poets, yes, to the dreamers, who kept the ideal of cooperative peace alive through the imperialistic nineteenth century we owe an everlasting debt of gratitude.



In spite of several attempts to bring to a realization the ideal of inter-American unity, more than six decades went by before the seed began to grow. And I am proud (of the fact) that on that occasion the initiative came from the oldest of the American Republics, the United States. In 1888, President Cleveland approved an Act of Congress authorizing him to call a conference of the American countries in order that there might be worked out a peaceful plan for the settling of disagreements and disputes, and a means of encouraging such reciprocal relations as would benefit all.

And it was that inter-American conference, fifty years ago, that set up the International Union of the American Republics, the anniversary of which we are observing today. In opening the Conference, the Secretary of State, James G. Blaine expressed its high purpose in the following words: "We believe that a spirit of justice, of common and equal interest between the American states, will leave no room for an artificial balance of power like unto that which has led to wars abroad and drenched Europe in blood."

And fifty years of unremitting effort have brought our Republics far along the road that leads to this goal. Today, as never before, our nations have reason to appreciate the fruits of that progress. For today the world and we, ourselves, are again face to face with the old problem.

Universal (and) stable peace remains a dream. War, more horrible and destructive than ever, has laid its blight-

ing hand on many parts of the earth. But peace among our American nations remains secure because of the instruments we have succeeded in creating. They embody, in great measure at least, the principles upon which, I believe, enduring peace must be based throughout all the rest of the world.

Peace reigns today in the Western hemisphere because our nations have liberated themselves from fear. No nation is truly at peace if it lives under the shadow of coercion or invasion. By the simple process of agreeing that each nation shall respect the integrity and the independence of the others, the New World has freed itself of the greatest and simplest cause of war. Self-restraint and the acceptance of the equal rights of our neighbors as an act of effective good will has given us the peace we have had, and will preserve that peace so long as we abide by this ultimate moral law.

Peace reigns amongst us today because we have agreed, as neighbors should, to mind our own businesses. We have renounced, each and all of us, any right to (intervene) interfere in each other's domestic affairs, recognizing that free and independent nations must shape their own destinies and find their own ways of life.

Peace reigns among us today because we have resolved to settle any dispute that should arise among us by friendly negotiation in accordance with justice and equity, rather than by force. And we have created effective machinery for this purpose; (and) we have demonstrated our willingness to have full recourse to that method.

Peace reigns among us because we have recognized the principle that only through vigorous and mutually beneficial international economic relations can each of us have adequate access to materials and opportunities necessary to a rising level of economic well-being for all of our peoples. And in every practicable way we are seeking to bring this vital principle to its realization.

We of this hemisphere have no need to seek a new international order; we have already found it. This was not won by hysterical outcries, or violent movements of troops. We (did) do not stamp out nations, or do not capture governments, or uproot innocent people from the homes that they (had) have built. We (did) do not invent absurd doctrines of race supremacy, or claim dictatorship through universal revolution.

The inter-American order was not built by hatred and terror. It has been paved by the endless and effective work of men of good will. We have built a foundation for the lives of hundreds of millions. We have unified these lives by a common devotion to a moral order.

Yes (the) this cooperative peace in the Western Hemisphere was not created by wishing, mere wishing; and it will require more than mere words to maintain (it). In this association of nations, whoever touches any one of us touches (all of us) us all. We have only asked that the world go with us in the path of peace. But we shall be able to keep that way open only if we are prepared to meet force with force



if challenge is ever made against us.

Today we can have no illusions. Old dreams of universal empire are again rampant. We hear of races which claim the right of mastery. We learn of groups which insist that they have the right to impose their way of life on other nations. We encounter economic compulsions shrewdly devised to force great areas into political spheres of influence.

All (of) this is not of mere academic interest. We know that what happens in the Old World directly and powerfully affects the peace and well being of the New. It was for this very reason that we have adopted procedures that enable us to meet any eventuality. At Buenos Aires we agreed that we would consult, should our peace be threatened. At Lima we agreed to stand together to defend and maintain the absolute integrity of every American nation from any attack, direct or indirect, any attack from beyond the seas. At Panama we worked out ways and means for keeping war away from (this) our Hemisphere. I pray God that we shall (not) have to do no more than that; but should it be necessary, I am convinced that we should be wholly successful. For the inner strength of a group of free people is irresistible when they are prepared to act.

In my conception, the whole world now is struggling to find the basis of its life in (coming) the centuries that lie ahead.

And I affirm that that life must be based on positive values, permanent values.

The value of love will always be stronger than the value of hate; since any nation or group of nations which employs hatred eventually is torn to pieces by hatred within itself.

The value of a belief in humanity and justice is always stronger in any land than the value of belief in force; because force at last turns inward and if that occurs each man or group of men is finally compelled to measure his strength against his own brother.

The value of truth and sincerity is always stronger than the value of lies and cynicism. No process has yet been invented which can permanently separate men from their own hearts and their own consciences or (can) prevent them from seeing the results of their own false ideas as time rolls by. You cannot make men believe that a way of life is good when it spreads poverty and misery and disease and death. Men cannot be everlastingly loyal unless they are free.

And so, today, we proclaim (we acclaim today) the symbol of fifty years of the American way. We are determined to continue on that way (in) of friendship. We are determined that our mutual relations be built upon honor and upon good faith. We are determined to live in peace and to make that peace secure. We are determined to follow the path of free peoples to a civilization worthy of free men. (Applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Broadcast from Georgia Hall, Georgia Warm Springs Foundation  
Over a Nation-wide hookup  
To the Young Democratic Clubs of America  
April 20, 1940, 9:45 P. M., C. S. T.

MY FRIENDS OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS:

I am speaking to you from Georgia Warm Springs Foundation for the victims of infantile paralysis, and I always feel that in this atmosphere one gets a better perspective of life, a better sense of proportion about all sorts of things, all kinds of things, from peanuts to politics.

I understand that these meetings of young Democrats in many parts of the country are customarily held close to the birthday anniversary of Thomas Jefferson. While there have been certain debatable exceptions in the past (one) hundred and fifty years, I can properly say that when our party system began the party of Thomas Jefferson was without question the liberal party and his opponents, the Federalists, represented conservative thought. In more recent times since the Civil War, for example, it is equally true that when the Democratic Party has been victorious it has represented a more liberal position on public affairs than the Republican Party.

Grover Cleveland, while not perhaps what we would call today a fighting, left-wing liberal, was certainly more of a liberal than James G. Blaine or Benjamin Harrison. Woodrow Wilson's eight years in office represented a progressive meeting of the difficult problems of his day, and it is not boasting for all of us to suggest that our country has perhaps



been fortunate in having met modern problems of extreme seriousness in the liberal spirit -- the do something about it spirit -- during the past seven years.

May I quote to you a few sentences that (prove) show the consistency of the Democratic position during recent years:

On August 24, 1935, speaking to the Young Democratic Clubs of America, I said: "I, for one, am willing to place my trust in the youth of America. If they demand action as well as preachments, I should be ashamed to chill their enthusiasm with the dire prophecy that to change is to destroy. I am unwilling to sneer at the vision of youth ..... But vision does not belong only to the young. There are millions of older people who have vision, just as there are some younger men and women who are ready to put a weary, selfish or greedy hand upon the clock of progress and turn it back ..... The spirit of America is the spirit of inquiry, of readjustment, of improvement, above all a spirit in which youth can find the fulfillment of its ideals."

And on January 8, 1936, I said: "Whatever may be the Platform, whoever may be the nominees of the Democratic Party ..... the basic issue will be the retention of popular government -- an issue fraught once more with the difficult problem of disseminating facts and yet more facts, in the face of an opposition bent on hiding and distorting facts." That I might add was shortly before the Presidential election of 1936.